

M E M O I R S
O F T H E
C A R D I N A L D E R E T Z.

C O N T A I N I N G,
T H E P A R T I C U L A R S O F H I S O W N L I F E,

W I T H T H E
M O S T S E C R E T T R A N S A C T I O N S
O F T H E
F R E N C H C O U R T A N D T H E C I V I L W A R S.

T R A N S L A T E D F R O M T H E F R E N C H.

I N F O U R V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

The best Memoirs that I know of, are those of Cardinal de Retz.
—I hardly know any Book so necessary for a young Man to read and remember: you will there find how great Business is really carried on, very differently from what People who have never been concerned in it imagine. In short you will, in every Page of that Book, see that strange inconsistent Creature, Man, just as he is.
Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son.

D U B L I N:

Printed for W. WATSON, W. WHITSTONE, W. SLEATER,
J. WILLIAMS, J. POTTS, W. WILSON, R. MONCRIEFFE,
W. COLLES, T. WALKER, J. PORTER, W. GILBERT,
L. FLIN, C. JENKIN, G. BURNET, J. EXSHAW,
W. HALLHEAD, J. BEATTY, P. WOGAN,
and T. WILKINSON. M,DCC,LXXVII.

M E M O I R S
O F T H E
C A R D I N A L D E R E T Z.

О Н И К И А Т У О С

THE PARTICULARS OF HIS OWN LIFE

H H T H T W

MICROFILM REEL

222

FRANCIS COURT AND THE CIVIL WAR

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN.

SECRET



The following is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the United States National Bank, held on the 10th day of January, 1900, at the City of New York.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz were first published, (in 1717) the general approbation they met with, not only abroad, but among those of our own nation that understand French, gave room to hope, that some able writer would not have thought it beneath him to have translated them into English. But after a long expectation, seeing no appearance that there was any such design in hand, not even by those who made it their business to enrich the Public with their labours of that kind, I was induced to attempt the thing; which, I own, I did before I well knew how hard the task was. For I soon perceived, that as no book, perhaps, deserves better to be made English, so, perhaps, no book is more difficult to be translated, if it be done in a manner that preserves, not only the life and spirit, but likewise the true sense of the original, which, in some places, many Frenchmen themselves can hardly come at, by reason of the defects and mistakes in the copy. Being however once set upon it, and finding myself supported and encouraged by the pleasure I took in reading over and over that valuable piece: but above all, being excited to go on, by a person to whom I owe the greatest respect, and without whose advice and assistance it had been impossible for me to go through with it, I resolved upon continuing, and doing my best, not to make it appear contemptible in the new dress I was to shew it in. If I have not succeeded so well as I could have wished, I may say however, in my own behalf, that I have spared neither pains nor time, to bring it, with the assistance before-mentioned,

mentioned, as near perfection as I was able, and that I have besides, upon all occasions wherein I have met with difficulties, consulted the best judges I knew, both of the French and English languages. Those who understand the original, and know the difficulty of giving the true meaning of it in English, will be the most ready to excuse the faults which I may have committed, amongst which, if a few Gallicisms, and other errors in the style have crept, in, I beg that it may be considered how hard it is to avoid them in a translation, which is but a first essay, and which was undertaken only as a diversion after studies of another kind. I have taken care to explain, by as short notes as I could, what it had otherwise been impossible for most of the English readers to have a right notion of. These notes, which are altogether necessary, and some others which I thought might be of some ornament to these Memoirs, have cost me no small pains; for as to the notes in the French edition, they are of little significancy, relating most of them to names, and not to things, which it was supposed that a French reader was acquainted with.

To say now something of the Cardinal de Retz himself; it is thought needless to give, as in the advertisement before the French edition, a long account here of his genealogy, the notes being sufficient to inform the reader of what relates to his family. As for his character, his Memoirs describe him better than any body can pretend to do, and may perhaps be much better depended upon, than those either of Joli, or of the Dutches de Nemours, which were published soon after his, and which probably would never have appeared, if his had not come out before; the curiosity of the Public being chiefly excited in respect to them, because of the mention which is made there, and of the character which is given of the Cardinal de Retz. Joli had for a long time been in the Cardinal's service, but left it a year or two after the Cardinal's return into France, not being able to bear that another, * whose merit he thought

* Malclerc, Gentleman of the Horse to Cardinal de Retz.

thought much inferior to his own, should be more trusted than he: and perhaps because the Cardinal was not now in a condition to do for him what he expected, and what he thought he deserved. In the preface to his Memoirs, wherein he is set out with a load of praises, it is said, however, that towards the end of the book, the malignity of his invectives against the Cardinal de Retz is too obvious not to strike the reader's eyes; which malignity is attributed to the grudge he owed his master, for the preference which has been mentioned. It is left to those who will be at the trouble to read his Memoirs, to judge whether this be well grounded, and to decide who is the modester man of the two, the Cardinal in what he says of Joli, or Joli in what he says of the Cardinal. It is likewise left to them, to judge who is the best writer of the two, and whether the French prefacer is in the right, when he decides so magisterially, that Joli's style is much preferable to that of the Cardinal. If I were allowed to give my opinion in this point, I should say of the Cardinal de Retz, what the late Marquis of Halifax † says of Montaigne: 'That nature has made him too big to confine himself to the exactness of a studied style.' So far as the Cardinal's Memoirs reach, the notes will mention in what Joli differs from his eminence, about facts of which they both speak; and as Joli has therein been mistaken more than once, so perhaps would it appear, if we had the rest of the Cardinal's Memoirs, that in Joli's account of the subsequent facts, he has, more than once misrepresented his master. This is not said to justify all the Cardinal's actions, some of which, as he himself confesses, are very blameable. But even supposing the whole of Joli's account to be true, the question would still be, Whether he was in the right to speak in the manner he has done? Before I leave him, I must take notice of several large presents in money, which he says the Cardinal

a 3

received

† In his letter to Charles Cotton, Esq; who had dedicated to him his translation of Montaigne's Essays.

received from king Charles the Second, after his restoration. If the fact be true, would it be unreasonable to think, that another cause of Joli's discontent might proceed from his fingering none of that money? What is most certain is, that king Charles, both before and after his restoration, shewed an esteem for the Cardinal, from whom both himself and the Queen-mother had received some good offices. The Earl of Clarendon, in the last * volume of his History of the Rebellion, speaks honourably of the Cardinal de Retz, and confirms what is said in his Memoirs, of a letter from the King of England to him, which was found in his pocket at the time he was arrested.

I shall say but little of the Memoirs of the Dutchesse de Nemours, † which followed those of Joli, and of which the judgment is likewise left to those who will be at the pains to read them. I shall only borrow, in respect to the character which that Lady gives of the Cardinal de Retz, an observation from a good writer, upon what the Duke de la Rochefoucault says of him in his Memoirs. The Duke, who was probably better acquainted with the Cardinal than the Lady, and who hated him perhaps more, gives this character of him. ‡
 ' This gentleman (says he) having added to many
 ' good qualities, both natural and acquired, the de-
 ' fect which, according to the corruption mankind is
 ' fallen into, is reputed a virtue, was stained with an
 ' immoderate ambition, and with an unruly desire of
 ' increasing, by any means whatsoever, his fortune and
 ' his reputation. So that his firm courage and his
 ' powerful

* Page 511, 512, of the octavo edition. The whole passage is inserted in the fourth volume.

† Mary, daughter to Henry of Orleans Duke de Longueville, by his first wife Louisa de Bourbon, sister to the Count de Soissons; that Lady married Henry of Savoy, Duke de Nemours. My Lord Clarendon says, ' That Sir John Berkley designed this Lady for the Duke of York's wife, as one of the greatest and richest marriages in France, in respect of her fortune, though in respect to her person not at all attractive.' See the Lord Clarendon's Hist. vol. vi. page 454.

‡ Page 140, of the edition printed in 1690.

‘ powerful genius met with a sad and unfortunate object, which was the disorder the state was in, and the confusion of the capital city, of which he was Archbishop.’ And in another place, speaking of the peace made after the first siege of Paris, the Duke says, ‘ Those that were against that peace, took hold of some articles for a pretence to discredit it, chiefly the Coadjutor, † who was exasperated, because having excited the war, it was put an end to without him; and that of all the advantages which his ambition had represented to him, he had nothing left him, but the shame of having endeavoured to pull down the state.’ This charge against the Cardinal de Retz, though very heavy, is something lighter however than that of the Dutcheſs de Nemours. † And yet in the preface to the Duke’s Memoirs, which comes from a very able hand, it is said, ‘ That that character is over-strained; and that if the Duke had said less against the Prelate, the impartial readers might have believed more. I will not (says the author of the preface) enter into the justification of the conduct of the Coadjutor, who certainly suffered himself to be carried too far away by his passion after the Queen Regent had despised his offers and his advice, in a very troublesome conjuncture, wherein his service might have proved very useful; but I shall do what truth requires of me, if I say that his greatest crime was his being possessed of parts, and his having acquired a reputation, which gave umbrage to Cardinal Mazarin, whose fortune was then very tottering’ If this observation is of any weight, it will serve at least as well in respect to Madam de Nemours, as to Mr. de la Rochefoucault.

The Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz that are published, going no farther than to the year 1655, we know

* Page 162.

† The Cardinal de Retz was then Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Paris.

‡ See her Memoirs at the end of those of Joli, Dublin Edition, two Volumes, 12mo.

know but little concerning him, from that time till his return into France, except what we find at the latter end of Joli's Memoirs, which reach to the beginning of the year 1665. There is hardly any room to doubt but that the Cardinal has carried his further, and it were to be wished we had them perfect; it being likely that what is wanting would be no less instructive or diverting than what is extant. As Joli has, during that time, represented the Cardinal in the worst light, so does he use all endeavours to make him appear contemptible at his return into France. I leave it to his admirers, to shew us how that agrees with what he is forced to own, of the esteem he was in with the French ministers, who desired to have his opinion about an affair of the greatest importance between the court * of France and that of Rome, and in which they followed exactly every step they were advised to by him.

The Cardinal de Retz, after his leaving Rome, chose rather to be six years and more an exile, living obscurely, and flying from place to place to avoid the attempts made against his life by Cardinal Mazarin, than to come to an accommodation with the court of France, by resigning his Archbishopric so long as Mazarin lived. But he soon consented to it after that minister's death; and notwithstanding what Joli says, he was received in France by all honest men, except perhaps those who were his professed enemies, with all possible marks of joy and respect. I might bring here to justify this, if it were necessary, the testimony of Mr. Patru, † a gentleman of the greatest probity and merit. The Cardinal had, however, no share given him

* The insult committed at Rome against the Duke de Crequi, the French King's Ambassador.

† An Advocate at the court of parliament of Paris, of whose works there are two volumes in print. He was an intimate friend of Boileau's, who would never publish any thing without his approbation. The letter which Mr. Patru wrote to the Cardinal on his return into France, is inserted at length in the last volume.

him in the administration of affairs, being more feared than loved at court, by reason of his principles, which were known to be altogether against tyranny.

However great his inclination was to live splendidly, and though he enjoyed a great revenue, he retrenched, after his return into France, much of his expence, and reduced himself in some measure to mere necessities, in order to pay his debts which amounted to three millions of livres. † I cannot, on this occasion, omit mentioning some particulars taken notice of by Mr. Menage. ‘Never (says he) any person of quality spent so much, or borrowed such sums and repaid them so well as the Cardinal de Retz. At his last going to Rome, he sent for all his creditors, and examining how much he owed them, he told them that he had but such a sum, which would be paid them at such a time, and for which a gentleman then present would be answerable. All his creditors complained at his making this apology, saying, that they did not come to ask for money, having still more at his service: and a lady among others rose up and offered him 50,000 crowns, which she desired he would accept, to supply his wants upon his journey, and during his stay at Rome. The Cardinal, amazed at the generosity of so many persons, expressed his gratitude for it; and turning towards a hatter that was with the rest; there is (says he) this poor hatter, to whom I am indebted a large sum, and I am ashamed that I am not able to satisfy him as I could wish, and as he deserves. ‘Meaning me, my Lord,’ replied the hatter? ‘It is true, I am but poor, but my good-will and my attachment to your person, are inferior to none of the rest. I ask for no money; and I have brought you three red hats, which I beseech your Eminence to take along with you.’ ‘Every body was surprized at this piece of generosity in a tradesman, and the Cardinal could not forbear shedding tears.

† At that time above 230,000*l.* Sterling,

P R E F A C E.

‘ tears at it, and returning thanks to God for disposing
‘ the hearts of so many different persons so favourably
‘ for him. The Cardinal’s intentions have, since his
‘ death, been executed with a fidelity beyond exam-
‘ ple, and none of his creditors have lost any thing by
‘ him. *

I find in the French advertisement, that some time
before the Cardinal’s death, the Pope wrote to him to
have his sentiments about the qualifications requisite to
make a good Cardinal, that he might thereby regulate
his choice. The letter was full of expressions both of
esteem and of trust, and ’tis said the Cardinal had be-
gun that work. What we know to be true is, that he
would have resigned his dignity of Cardinal to Pope
Clement X. but that the Pope would not con-
sent to it. He retired however from the world, and
spent the rest of his days either in exercises of devotion,
or with his books.

The Cardinal de Retz had for his preceptor the fa-
mous Vincent de Paul. † He was made a Canon of
the church of Paris upon the third of December 1627,
by his uncle John Francis de Gondi, who was the first
Archbishop of Paris, that see being before but a Bishop-
ric. He was before that time possessed of two Ab-
beys, that of Buzay, which he resigned after his re-
turn into France, to one of the sons of Mr. de Cau-
martin his friend; and that of Quimpercorentin, which
he resigned to the abbot Charrier, who had been his
constant attendant in all his disgraces. He died at
Paris in the Hôtel-de-Lesdiguières, upon the 24th of
August, 1679, aged 66, wanting one month and some
days. And Madam de Sevigni, a Lady of quality and
of the greatest wit and merit, writing the next day to
the Count de Buffi Rabutin, expresses in this manner
her grief for his death: ‘ Pity me, cousin, for the loss
‘ I have

* Vide Menagiana, vol. i. p. 16, 17, 18.

† He instituted the congregation of the Missionaries of St. La-
zarous, of which he was made superior.

‘ I have sustained by the death of the Cardinal de
 ‘ Retz. You know how well he deserved to be loved,
 ‘ and how worthy he was of the esteem of all who
 ‘ knew him. I had been his friend for thirty years
 ‘ together, during which time he never failed to give
 ‘ me tender marks of his friendship, which were equally
 ‘ honourably and * DELIGHTFUL to me. Nobody
 ‘ in the world was of so easy a conversation as he. A
 ‘ continual fever has taken away from me, in eight
 ‘ days time, that illustrious friend. I am touched at it
 ‘ to the bottom of my heart.’ † I thought it not im-
 proper to insert this letter here, because it gives, in few
 words, a character of the Cardinal de Retz very differ-
 ent from that of Joli, and of the Dutcheſs de Ne-
 mours.

I think it necessary to take notice, that the fourth
 volume of the French edition contains several addi-
 tional pieces written by the Cardinal de Retz, and
 some others, which in the title page are said to be of
 use towards the understanding the history of those
 times. Of these I have translated only the history of
 the conspiracy against the republic of Genoa, written
 by the Cardinal; his letter to the College of Cardinals,
 during his imprisonment, and a letter to Cardinal Ma-
 zarin, concerning the Cardinal de Retz. As I thought
 none of the rest would be either instructive or diverting
 to an English reader, I have endeavoured to supply
 their place with some other pieces relating more imme-
 diately to the Cardinal, and which I judge more use-
 ful and entertaining. Amongst these there are some
 things extracted from, and some account given of the
 Memoirs of Madam de Motteville, which have been
 published since the following sheets were sent to the
 press.

After what has been said of the general esteem
 which these Memoirs have obtained, I believe that it
 will be thought a misfortune, by others as well as me,
 that

* The French says DELICIOUS.

† Vide, Russi Rabutin's letters, vol. iv. letter 44.

that there are so many chasms or gaps to be found in them. The persons possessed of the author's original copy, have without doubt had their reasons not to let it see the light, but thus maimed and disfigured, so that we have no right to complain; though it were to be wished that we had it more perfect. The best is, that most of those chasms are in the beginning of this work, which, I may venture to say, is not of equal worth with the rest, though it might appear very diverting, were not the narration so often interrupted.



MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

To MADAM DE * * * *

BOOK I.

MADAM,

WHATEVER reluctance I may have to give you the history of my life, which has been tossed about so many different ways, yet having your command to do it, I obey you even at the expence of my own reputation. It has been my fortune to have a fine varnish over many of my actions, and I am afraid that it will be thought ridiculous in me to take any of it off; yet, I am resolved to discover to you the most minute particulars of my life, from the time I began to know myself, and that, without the least reserve or disguise. I must desire you not to be surprised to find these Memoirs writ with so little art, and in so confused a manner; and to consider, that if in the several parts they are composed of, I sometimes break off the thread of the narration, yet I shall say nothing but with that sincerity which the esteem I have for your ladyship requires of me. It is for that reason that I have set my name at the head of this work, that I may be the more obliged to stick close to truth, without any addition or diminution. To be over vain or over modest, are the extremes into one of which the most part of them that have written their own lives could not avoid falling.

VOL. I.

B

ing.

MEMOIRS OF THE

ing. Mr. de Thou * has done it with success in this latter age, by keeping a true medium between them; and it is what Cæsar had done before him, in what he has writ concerning himself. You do me, without doubt, the justice to think that I should not have mentioned these great names in a subject that relates to myself, if sincerity was not a virtue which we are permitted, nay more, commanded, to attain to in as great a degree as any hero whatsoever.

I come of a family † eminent in France, and ancient in Italy. On my birth-day a sturgeon, monstrous for its size, was taken in a small river that runs by the town of Montmirail in Brie, where my mother was brought to-bed of me. ‡ I am far from thinking myself considerable enough to look upon this as an omen relating to my birth; I had not therefore mentioned this circumstance, but the libels written since against me having taken notice of it, as of a thing presaging the troubles of which some are pleased to make me the author, I fear that it might be looked upon as an affectation in me, should I not mention it likewise.

I told

* *James-Augustus de Thou, president a Mortier in the parliament of Paris. Besides the history of his time, from the year 1543 to 1608, which may be compared to the best histories written in ancient times, he has left Commentaries, or Memoirs of his Life. There are eight presidents a Mortier in the parliament of Paris, viz. the first president, and seven others. They have the first seats in that assembly; and what is called Mortier, is the mark of their dignity, which they formerly carried on their heads, and which they still do upon extraordinary occasions, but they now carry it commonly in their hands.*

† *The name of the family was Gondi; and his great grandfather, Anthony de Gondi, second of the name, a gentleman of Florence (where that family is acknowledged by historians to have been of note for above 500 years) came into France, and settled at Lions, where he married (on the 20th of January, 1516) Catherine de Pierre Vive, governante of the French King's children, by whom he had three sons; Albert, who was made Duke and Peer, and Marechal of France; Charles, General of the gallies, &c. and Peter, who was Bishop of Paris, and was made a Cardinal.*

‡ *In the month of October, 1614, he was christened John-Francis-Paul, was betimes designed for the church, going at first by the name of the Abbot de Retz.*

MEMOIRS OF THE

“ I esteem, and I make no difficulty, as matters stand, to say
 “ that I gave you no manner of occasion to quarrel with me.”
 We agreed to tell the Marquis de Poissi, (who was his
 nephew, and my friend) how the matter past, but to hide it
 from the rest of the world, upon account of Madam du
 Chastelet. The keeping of this a secret was not what I was
 pleased with, but how could I have handsomely refused it?
 There was little said about this matter, which had not taken
 vent at all, but by the indiscretion of * Noirmoutier, who
 having learnt it of the Marquis de Poissi, told it a few others.
 However, no inquiry was made about it, and I still remained
 with my cassock and my two duels.

Give me leave, Madam, to reflect a little here upon the
 nature of the mind of man. I believe that there was not in
 the world a man of an uprighter heart than my † father;
 and I may say, that he was stamp'd in the very mold of vir-
 tue. Yet these duels and love intrigues did not hinder the
 good man from doing all he could to tie to the church, the
 soul in the world perhaps the least ecclesiastical. His ‡ pre-
 dilection for his eldest son, and the view of the archbishopric
 of Paris for me, were the true causes of his acting thus,
 though he neither believed it, nor felt it. I dare say that he
 thought, nay, would have sworn, that he was led in all this by
 no other motive than the spiritual good of my soul, and the fear
 of the danger to which it might be exposed in another pro-
 fession. So true it is, that nothing is more subject to delusion
 than piety: all manner of errors creep and hide themselves
 under that veil. Piety takes for sacred all her imaginations,
 of what sort soever; but the best intention in the world is not
 enough to keep it in that respect free from irregularity. In
 fine, after all that I have related, I remained a churchman:
 but certainly, I had not long continued so, if an accident had
 not happened, which I am now to acquaint you with.

The

* *Lewis de la Trimouille, Viscount of Thouars, Marquis,
 and afterwards Duke of Noirmoutier.*

† *Philip Emanuel de Gondi, Count de Joigni, General of the
 gallies of France, and Knight of the order of the Holy Ghost.
 He retired in the year 1640 amongst the fathers of the oratory,
 where he entered into holy orders, and where he died, with
 the reputation of a mighty pious man, on the 29th of June,
 1662, aged 81.*

‡ *First-born love.*

The Duke de Retz, * the head of our family, broke, at that time, by the King's command, the marriage-treaty agreed upon some years before, between the Duke de Mercœur † and his eldest daughter. He came the very next day after to my father, and surprized him very agreeably, by telling him that he was resolved to bestow her on my elder brother, to re-unite the two branches of the family. I knew that that lady had a sister worth above fourscore thousand livres a year, which made me think on her at the same instant for a double alliance. Nobody else was like, as I knew matters to stand, to think on it for me, so I resolved to provide for myself. I had some hint given me, that my father did not intend to take me to the wedding, foreseeing likely enough what happened after. To make him alter his mind, I feigned to have altered mine, as to the profession I was designed for. What had been represented to me so many times on that subject, seemed now to work deeply with me, and I acted my part so well, that every body thought me intirely changed. I expressed no manner of desire of assisting at the wedding, which was to be celebrated in Brittany, and that helped to engage my father to take me thither along with the rest. We found the ladies at Beaupreau in Anjou, and I looked upon the eldest only as a sister; but, from the first moment, I looked on the other as on a mistress. She appeared to me very beautiful, and with a most lively complexion: lilies and roses were not wanting there, and for her eyes and mouth, nothing could be finer. She had some defect in her shape, but scarce observable, and besides, much lessened by the view of her fourscore thousand livres a year, by the hopes of the dutchy of Beaupreau, and by a thousand chimeras that I formed on these foundations, which were real.

I played, in the beginning, my game mighty well. All the journey long I had appeared a devout churchman, and so I continued to do in public during the wedding: but with the lady I acted another part: I sighed, and she perceived it; afterwards I spoke, and was heard, though with a pretty severe air. I had observed that she loved extremely a woman that waited

* *Henry de Gondî, Duke of Retz, married the Dutchess of Beaupreau, by whom he had two daughters; Catherine, who married in 1633, her cousin Peter de Gondî, brother to the Cardinal; and Frances, married to Lewis de Cossé, Duke of Brissac.*

† *Lewis, eldest son to the Duke de Vendosme, a natural son to Henry IV.*

waited on her, who was sister to one of the monks of my abbey of Buzay. This made me use all possible means to bring this woman into my measures: one hundred pistoles in hand, and promises without number, made her wholly mine. She insinuated to the young lady that there was a design laid to shut her up in a nunnery, whilst I was complaining to her of a like design upon me to make me a monk. The lady hated her eldest sister mortally, because she was by much the most beloved of her father; and that same reason made me love my brother but moderately. This resemblance in our fortunes was a great help to our union; so persuading myself that her passion might equal mine, I resolved to carry her into Holland, which was very easy for me to do, the place where we then were, being not above half a league distant from the sea: but this expedition required money, and I had none; for the hundred pistoles with which I had parted, had left me quite bare. I found means however to get enough, by representing to my father, that the ecclesiastical laws binding me, in the strictest manner, to take into my hands the management of my livings, I thought myself obliged in conscience to follow that rule. This was not pleasing to him, but he could not refuse his consent to it, because I asked nothing but what was according to order; and because this proposal shewed, as if at least I designed to keep my livings, since I was so willing to have the management of them in my hands.

I went the very next day to farm out Buzay, which was but five leagues off from the place we then were at. I treated with a merchant of Nantes, named Jucateres, who took advantage of the haste I was in, and who by paying me four thousand crowns in hand, which were to me four millions, made a bargain that has since made his fortune. But as I was just ready to hire one of those Dutch fly-boats, that always are in the road of Retz, an accident happened that broke all my measures.

Mademoiselle de Retz (for the lady with whom I had the intrigue, had taken that name since her sister's marriage) had the finest eyes in the world; but they were never so fine as when they had a languishing air, and I never saw eyes which such an air gave so many graces to. One day that we dined at a lady's of the neighbourhood, there happened a scene before a looking-glass that stood at the bedside, which was unluckily perceived in the glass by Palluau, who has been since Marechal of Clerambaut. Mademoiselle de Retz, who looked in the glass, shewed at that time all that the Morbidezza of the Italians has of most tender, most passionate, and most moving. Palluau, who had observed all, and who was
much

much in the interest of the married sister, with whom he had been very conversant whilst she was a maid, failed not to tell her exactly all that he had seen; which he assured me since, could not be an original.

Madam de Retz, * who hated mortally her sister, told it the Duke her father the same evening, who likewise failed not to acquaint mine instantly with it. The post coming the next day, letters from Paris were said to be pressing for our going away. We took but a slight and a public leave of the ladies; and my father carried me to Nantes that same night. You may imagine how much this disappointment surprized and vexed me; neither could I find out the cause of this sudden departure. I had nothing to reproach myself with, and was far from guessing at the discovery which Palluau had made. At Orleans, I had reason to think that my design was found out; for there, my brother fearing that I should make an escape, which I had several times attempted since our coming to Tours, seized upon the box where my money lay. This proceeding convinced me that I was discovered, and I arrived at Paris, as you may imagine, very sorrowful.

There I found Equilly, uncle to Valsé, and my cousin-german, whom I dare assure to have been the gallantest man of his time: he was twenty years older than I, but loved me dearly for all that. I had acquainted him, before I went into Brittany, with my design of carrying away Mademoiselle de Retz, and he had much approved of it, not only for the advantage which I was to reap by it, but because he was persuaded that that double alliance was necessary for the establishing our family upon a firm foundation. The event, whereby our name is carried into a family † a stranger to ours, shews that he was not mistaken. He now made me a fresh offer of assisting me all he could in that design: he lent me twelve hundred crowns, which was all the ready money he had, and I borrowed three thousand more of the President Barillon. Equilly wrote to Provence for the pilot of his galley, he being a man of sense, and fit for action. I communicated my design to the Countess de Saux, who has been since Dutches of Lesdiguières. ‡

This name obliges me to interrupt the thread of my discourse, for the reason which you will hereafter see.

I picked

* *The married sister.*

† *That of Villeroy.*

‡ *She was of the family of Gondi by the mother's side, and cousin-german to the Cardinal de Retz.*

I picked a quarrel with Praslin upon a trifle, and we fought in the Bois de-Boulogne, having got loose, but not without a great deal of pains, from those who would have secured us. I received a considerable wound in the throat, and he no less a one in the arm. Meillancour, who was gentleman of the horse to my brother, and my second, had been wounded in the lower belly, and disarmed, by the Chevalier du Pleffis, Praslin's second; after which they came to part Praslin and me. I omitted nothing to make this duel public, and had got men ready to have witnessed it; but there is no opposing one's destiny, for there was not the least information made about it.

In that case, said he, do you believe that a commerce with a woman of that sort will not plunge you into the same inconveniencies, which the Archbishop of Paris, * your uncle, has fallen into, much more by his low inclinations than by the irregularity of his life? It is with churchmen as it is with women, who can preserve no dignity in their amours but by the merit of their lovers. But where is the merit of Mademoiselle de Roche, setting aside her beauty? And is beauty a sufficient excuse for an Abbot, whose first pretension is the archbishopric of Paris? If you leave the gown for the sword, as I believe you will, what are you not exposed to, and where can you tell that you will be able to stop, with a woman of so shining a beauty? In six weeks time she will cease to be a child, and having her lesson taught her by Epineville, who is an old fox, and by her mother, who seems not to want understanding, nobody knows how far she may carry you.

Cardinal Richlieu † hated, to the last degree, the Princess of Guimené, being persuaded that she had traversed his inclination for the young Queen, ‡ and had had a hand in the ill turn done him by Madam du Fargis, a lady of her chamber, when she carried to Mary de Medicis, the Queen-mother, a love-letter which he had wrote to the Queen her daughter-in-law. This hatred of his had even obliged him, out of revenge, to desire the Mareschal de Brezé his brother-in-law, and captain of the life guards, to make public Madam de Guimené's

* *John Francis de Gondi, first Archbishop of Paris, that see being before but a bishopric.*

† *Armand-John Du Pleffis, Cardinal de Richlieu, was born in 1585, and died in 1642.*

‡ *Ann of Austria, mother to Lewis XIV.*

Guimené's letters to the Marechal of Montmorenci,* which were found in that Marechal's strong box at Castel-Naudary, when he was there taken prisoner. But the Marechal de Brezé, out of a principle either of civility or honour, refused to do it, *at least for that time*. † He was, however, but an odd sort of a man. But Cardinal Richlieu, who formerly thought himself in some measure honoured by his alliance, and who feared him for his violent temper and his vaunting to the King, who had some sort of inclination for him; the Cardinal, I say, thought fit to bear with him, that he might enjoy some quiet in his family, which he passionately wished to establish and unite. There was nothing which the Cardinal's power in France could not have brought to pass, except that union; for the Marechal de Brezé had conceived so great an aversion against Monsieur de la Meilleraie, ‡ then great master of the ordinance, and since Marechal of France, that he could not at all abide him. It was impossible for him to imagine how Cardinal Richlieu could bestow one single thought on such a man as la Meilleraie, who was, it is true, his cousin-german by the mother's side, but who was himself born but of ignoble parents, a man of the lowest mien, and of a merit, as he openly said, but very ordinary.

The Cardinal thought otherwise of la Meilleraie. He believed him to be a man of courage, and he was in the right as to that. Indeed as for his military skill, the Cardinal had an over-great opinion of it, though la Meilleraie had a merit that way too, not to be despised. In fine, he designed him for the post, which the Marechal de Turenne has since held with so much honour.

What I have said is enough to let you into the family-broils of the Cardinal, and to shew you how much it was his interest to have them appeased. He applied himself to it with much care, and he thought that the best way of bringing it about, was to reconcile the two gentlemen whom I

B 5

have

* Henry Duke of Montmorenci, was taken prisoner on the 1st of September, 1632, and had his head struck off at Toulouse, in the month of November following.

† The French copy in this place, says, that the Marechal returned the letters to the lady, but the sequel shews that it was not so.

‡ Charles de la Porte, Marechal de la Meilleraie, who married his son to one of Cardinal Mazarin's nieces, the famous Hortentia Mancini, so well known by the name of the Dutchess of Mazarin.

have mentioned, and to unite them to him in a perfect confidence, which he had for nobody but them two. They from that time became jointly the confidants of his love intrigues, which, to say the truth, were little answerable to the greatness of his actions, and to the lustre in which he lived. For Marion de Lorme, who was little better than a prostitute, was one of the objects of his amours, and him she sacrificed to Desbarreaux. * Madam de Fruges, whom you see creeping into people's closets, under the name of an old woman, was another. The first came to him in the night-time, but he went himself at night to the other, who was even then but the leavings of Buckingham and de L'Epienne. The two confidants, who had clapt up together a sort of a peace, carried him thither in a livery, and Madam de Guimené was like to have been the victim of their pretended peace.

La Meillerie, who was then great master of the ordinance, was fallen in love with her, but the love was not reciprocal of her side. As he was both by his nature, and by the favour he was in with the Cardinal, the most imperious man in the world, he took it heinously ill. He made his complaints, and the lady was not moved with them: he came to threats, and his threats were made a jest of. The reason it seems of his threatening was, that having railed bitterly at her with the Cardinal, this last had obliged the Marechal de Brezé to put into his hands the letters which I have mentioned. The Cardinal delivered them immediately to La Meillerie, who did not fail to hint something of it to the lady the next time they met. By this Madam de Guimené found that this was no longer a jesting matter, at which she became almost enraged. She fell into a melancholy that altered her so much, that she was scarce to be known again, which obliged her to retire to Couperai, where she would see nobody.

As soon as I had resolved to set myself to study, I resolved likewise to follow the steps which Cardinal Richlieu had trod in before; and though my nearest relations approved not of it, being of opinion that it was a work fit only for pedants, I was not dissuaded from it, but entered the lists, and went on with success; and all the persons of quality of the same profession, have thought fit since to go on in the same way. But as I was the first, since the Cardinal, he seemed pleased with

* A noted atheist.

with it, and that, joined to the good offices which the great master did me daily with him, made his eminence speak favourably of me on two or three occasions. He expressed an obliging sort of wonder that I had never made my court to him, and went so far as to order M. de Lingendes, who has been since Bishop of Mâcon, to bring me to him.

This was the cause of my first disgrace with the Cardinal; for instead of regarding, as I should, his first advances, and the great master's earnestness to oblige me to make my court to him, I made use but of poor shifts to avoid it. I feigned myself sick, I left the town for a while, and in short I did enough to shew that I had no inclination to be a dependant on the Cardinal, who, though otherwise a very great man, had, to the last degree, the weakness not to despise little matters, as he shewed on this occasion. For the history of John Lewis de Fiesque's conspiracy, which I had wrote, when but eighteen years old, being slipt at that time out of the hands of Lauzieres, to whom I had intrusted it only to read, and being carried by Boisrobert * to the Cardinal, this last said in the hearing of the Mareschal d'Estreés and of Senneterre, speaking of me: 'This is a dangerous sort of a man.' Senneterre told it the same evening to my father, and I took it as if it had been said in my own hearing; so that what I had done before only by reason of Madam de Guimené's hatred to the Cardinal, I now continued in regard to my own self.

The success I had in the disputations in the Sorbonne gave me some relish for that sort of reputation. I tried to carry it on further, and flattered myself that I might venture upon preaching with hopes of a like success. I was advised to begin at some convent of little note, to accustom myself by degrees to speak in public; but I took a quite contrary course. I preached the Ascension, the Pentecost, and the Corpus Christi days at the little Carmelites, in the presence of the Queen, and of all the court. This confidence of mine drew from the Cardinal other words touching me, much of the same kind with those I have repeated. For his Eminence being told that I had preached with applause; he answered, 'I do not think that the success justifies the undertaking; I look upon him to be but a rash young man.' You see by this

* *The Abbot of Boisrobert, of the French academy, a kind of jester to the Cardinal.*

this that I had business enough upon my hands for one of two and twenty.

The Count of Soissons, * who had taken a very great liking to me, and to whose service and person I had very strongly devoted myself, left Paris in the night-time, and made haste to get into Sedan, being afraid of being taken up. He sent for me about ten at night before his going away, and discovered his design to me. I did all I could to obtain the honour of accompanying him thither, but he forbid it me very expressly. He only trusted into my hands Vanbrock, a Fleming, that played upon the lute, and was the man in whom he confided most. He desired me to hide him in my house, and not to let him go out but in the night-time. I performed that order with great exactness, and found out a place for Vanbrock to hide himself in, where none but the devil or a cat could have come at him. But he acted not his part so well, for he was discovered at the time that he had leave to go abroad, by the housekeeper of the Hotel de Soissons, or at least it is what I have all along suspected; and I was much surprised one morning about six, to find my chamber filled with armed men, who had waked me by breaking open the door. The Provost de l'Isle † came swearing to my bed-side, asking me where Vanbrock was? I answered, that I believed he was at Sedan. At this he began to swear the more, and had every corner of the house and every bed searched. He threatened all my servants with the rack, but none of them except one could have discovered him any thing. As for the place where Vanbrock was hid, they could never find that out, and so they left my house very little pleased. You may well think that a mark of this nature coming from the court, could not be called otherwise than a new affront. There immediately followed another. The time of taking the degrees in the Sorbonne was expired, and the ranks for every one were now to be fixed, that is, the whole body of the Sorbonne was to declare who had done best in their disputations, which declaration is made with a great deal of solemnity. I had the vanity to pretend to the first place, and thought not fit to yield

* *Lewis de Bourbon, Count of Soissons and of Clermont, Prince of the Royal Blood of France.*

† *At Paris, the Provost of the Marshals of France, that is, the Judge acting under them, is called the Provost de l'Isle.*

yield it to the Abbot de la Mothe Houdancourt, the present Archbishop of Auch, being certain that I had had some advantage over him in the disputes.

The Cardinal de Richlieu, who did that Abbot the honour of owning him for his kinsman, sent the Grand Prior de la Porte, his uncle, to recommend him to the Sorbonne. I behaved myself on this occasion better than might have been expected from one of my age; for as soon as I knew what steps the Cardinal had taken, I went to M. de Raconis, Bishop of Lavaur, desiring him to tell the Cardinal, that being conscious to myself of the respect I owed him, I had desisted from my pretensions the moment I knew the interest which he took in that affair. The Bishop came to me the next morning to acquaint me, that the Cardinal was altogether unwilling that the Abbot de la Mothe should owe to my yielding, a rank which he thought could not be refused him upon account of his own merit.

I was provoked at this very much, and made no answer but by a smile and a low bow. This obliged me to pursue my point, and I carried it by 84 voices. The Cardinal, who would be master even in the meanest matters, was transported with anger at this, even to puerility. He threatened the Sorbonne to pull down what he had begun to build there, and this drew from him new expressions against me the sharpest that can be imagined.

My whole family was alarmed at this. My father and my aunt de Magnelay, * who always sided together; the Sorbonne, Remebrock, the Count de Soissons, my brother who left Paris that same night, Madam de Guimené, to whom they well saw how much I was attached; wished all of them heartily that I would absent myself and go into Italy. Accordingly thither I went, and I staid at Venice till the middle of August; and it was not for want of indiscretion in me that I was not there assassinated. I undertook for a pastime to play the gallant with the Signora Vendranina, a noble Venetian lady, who was one of the handsomest women that could be seen. The President de Maillé, our King's Ambassador at that place, who knew the danger there was in that country in those sorts of adventures, made me leave the town. I went round all Lombardy, and I arrived at Rome about the end of

* *Marguerite-Claude de Gondi, married to Florimond d'Halluin, Marquis de Magnelay.*

of September. The Mareſchal d'Eſtrées, * who was our Ambaſſador there, inſtructed me in what manner I was to live in that court, and his advices prevailed with me. For though I did not deſign to ſtick to the church, I, however, thought fit to get a good name at the court of Rome, before whom I was to appear with a caſſock on. I executed, in every reſpect, that reſolution, and I left not behind me the leaſt ſhadow of any gallantry or debauchery. Nothing could be more modeſt than the dreſs I appeared in, and that modeſty in my own perſon was ſet off by the great expence I made; by a neat equipage and fine liveries, and by the attendance of ſeven or eight gentlemen, four of whom were Knights of Malta. I diſputed in the public ſchools there, which are not to be compared as to learning, with our Sorbonne; and fortune was pleaſed ſtill to help to ſet me off. The Prince de Schemberg, Ambaſſador of Obedience from the Empire, ſent me word one day, as I was playing at Baſon, in the Emperor Antoninus's Thermes, that I ſhould quit him the place. I bid his men tell him, that there was nothing which I had not done for his Excellency, if I had been aſked it in a civil way, but his meſſage importing a command, I was obliged to let him know, that I received no command from any Ambaſſador but the King my maſter's. But he ſtill inſiſted, and ſending word a ſecond time, by one of his men, for me to be gone, I was obliged to put myſelf in a deſenſive poſture. The Germans, I believe, more out of contempt for the few men whom I had with me, than moved by any other conſideration, carried the matter no farther. This oppoſition of an Abbot, who ſeemed ſo modeſt, to an Ambaſſador, who never went abroad without one hundred Horſe-Muſqueteers for his guard, made a great noiſe at Rome, and ſo great, that Roze, whom you now ſee Secretary of the King's cloſet, and who was that day in the Thermes with me, was ſince heard to ſay, that Cardinal Mazarin was ſtruck at it when he firſt heard it, and ſpoke of it to him ſeveral times after.

 Cardinal Richlieu began to grow weaker in health, where-
 by ſome poſſibility was opened for my pretenſions to the
 Archbiſhopric of Paris. The Count de Soiſſons, who had
 received ſome impreſſions of devotion in his retreat at Sedan,
 and who made ſome ſcruple of enjoying, under the names of
 Cuſtodi-nos,

* Francis-Annibal, Duke of Eſtrées, Peer and Mareſchal
 of France.

Custodi-nos, above 100,000 livres a year in benefices, had writ to my father, that as soon as an occasion should offer, to make the court consent to it, he would resign them to me. All these considerations joined together, though they could not make me entirely quit the resolution of leaving off the gown, yet were strong enough to suspend it. What they worked in me went still further, for I resolved never to leave it off, but to some purpose, and by some actions of note, which finding neither near nor certain, I resolved to signalize myself all manner of ways in my profession. I begun with a very strict retreat, I spent almost the whole day at my studies, I suffered but few people to come near me, and I left off almost all manner of commerce with women, except with Madam de Guimené.

Just a fortnight before this adventure, the devil had appeared to the Princess de Guimené, * which he often did by the conjurations of Mr. d'Andilli, † who, I believe, brought about that apparition, for no other end than to fright his votary, with whom he was fallen in love, even more than I, but purely in a godly and spiritual manner. I conjured, on my side, another devil, under a more benign and more agreeable form; and after about six weeks stay at Port-Royal, whither she now and then retreated, but more out of humour than devotion, I got her away from thence. I continued to pay my respects to her, with great assiduity, and by that and some other diversions, I charmed the uneasiness which, whether I would or no, my profession nursed up in my heart. But this charm was like to have brought forth a hurricane that would have altered the face of things in Europe, if it had pleased fate to have joined hands with me.

Cardinal Richlieu loved to rally others, but he could not bear to be rallied himself, which is always a certain sign of a very sour and peevish humour. He displayed this humour at the Queen's circle against Madam de Guimené, and every body observed that it was me whom he meant in his sour jest. She was enraged at it, and I more than she; for we had established a kind of intimacy one with another, which indeed was often interrupted by quarrels, though at the bottom our interests were the same.

About

* *Ann de Roban, married to Lewis de Roban, Prince de Guimené, her-cousin-german.*

† *Robert Arnaud d'Andilli, brother to the famous M. Arnaud, Dr. of Sorbonne.*

About this time, Madam de la Meilleraie, * *whom silly as she was, I was fallen in love with*, touched Cardinal Richlieu's heart, to that degree, that the Marechal, her husband, had taken notice of it, even before he went to the army. He had teased her about it, enough to make her believe, at first, that his jealousy was greater than his ambition. She feared her husband strangely, and did not love the Cardinal, who, indeed, by marrying her to his cousin, had stripped the house she came from, which she idolized. † Besides, the Cardinal's infirmities made him still older than he naturally was; and I may add as a truth, that having nothing of the pedant, in other respects, he was altogether one in what related to gallantry. I had learnt the particular circumstances of his first addresses to her, which were ridiculous enough: but having carried his courtship so far, as to oblige the lady to make long stays at Ruel, ‡ where he commonly sojourned, I foresaw that the splendour which accompanies favour would quickly turn the lady's little head-piece, and that the Marechal's jealousy would soon give way to his interest, which was not indifferent to him, and to his fondness for the court, which he carried even to dotage.

I was in the first heat § *of this new passion, and I took such pleasure in imagining that I was like to triumph over the Cardinal even in such a field as the Arsenal, that I felt a secret rage possess me*, when I was convinced that the change which I had foreseen was come to pass. The husband consented to the visits which his lady made at Ruel, and the lady put me off now with nothing but stories which had often the appearance of untruths. In short, the reasons which I had, jointly with Madam de Guimené, to be enraged at the Cardinal; this jealousy about Madam de la Meilleraie; the aversion that I had for my profession; all these causes uniting together in so fatal an instant, were like to have produced one of the greatest events that that age had seen.

La

* *This line in Italic is not writ with the Cardinal de Retz's own hand.*

† *Her name was Mary de Cossé, and she was daughter to Francis de Cossé, Duke of Brissac.*

‡ *A country-house of the Cardinal's, at three leagues distance from Paris.*

§ *There are in the original seven lines scratched out, in the room of which, what is here in Italic, has been put.*

La Rochepot, my cousin-german * and intimate friend, belonged to the Duke of Orleans, and was extremely in his confidence. † He hated Cardinal Richlieu cordially, both because he was son to my aunt Du Fargis ‡ whom that minister had persecuted even to the exposing of her in effigies, and because the same minister, who held still La Rochepot's father prisoner in the Bastile, had refused his consent for the regiment of Champagne, which the Marechal de la Meilleraie, out of a particular esteem for my cousin's valour, had asked for him. You may imagine what sort of panegyrics we often made on the Cardinal, when we were together, and in what manner we spoke of the Duke of Orleans's weakness, which had obliged him to come back shamefully from Blois to the court, after he had persuaded the Count de Soissons to leave the kingdom and retire to Sedan, upon his solemn promise of joining him there himself.

My resentment against the Cardinal for the causes which I have mentioned, being as great as those which La Rochepot had reason to entertain for the injuries done both to himself and his family, it was an easy matter for us to agree in the same thoughts. These thoughts were to make use of the Duke of Orleans's fears, to bring to pass now what was like to have been done before at Amiens by the courage of those that were of his family. It is necessary that I should speak a word of that enterprize, for your better understanding what I have to say.

The Spaniards being entered into Picardy in the year 1635, under the command of Prince Thomas of Savoy, § and of Picolomini, the King went thither in person, and took along with him the Duke of Orleans, his brother, for general of his army, and the Count de Soissons for lieutenant-general. Both the Duke and the Count were on very ill terms with the Cardinal,

* *The Cardinal de Retz's father had married Marguerite de Silly, eldest daughter of Anthony Count de Rochepot.*

† *Wife to the Count du Fargis, la Rochepot's father, who had been for a long time ambassador at the court of Madrid. She was a lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen, and had been in all the intrigues against Cardinal Richlieu, by whom she was mortally hated.*

‡ *Gaston of France, Duke of Orleans, brother to King Lewis XIII.*

§ *Thomas-Francis of Savoy, Prince of Carignan, third son to Charles-Emanuel, Duke of Savoy.*

Cardinal, who bestowed those employments upon them through mere necessity, because the Spaniards, who threatened the heart of the kingdom, were already masters of Corbie, la Capelle, and le Castelet. As soon as the enemies were retired to the Low Countries, and that the King had retaken Corbie, 'twas not doubted but that means would be thought on to ruin the Count de Soissons, who had given great causes of jealousy to the minister, by his courage, his winning manners, and the great expence he made. Another crime of the Count's was, his being in so great an intimacy with the Duke of Orleans; but the greatest crime of all, and indeed a capital one, was his refusing to marry Madam d'Aiguillon, the Cardinal's niece. It was at that time that l'Epinay, Montresor* and la Rochepot, did all they could to work the Duke of Orleans's fears to the resolution of dispatching the Cardinal, whilst St. Ibal, Varicarville, Bardouville, and Beauregard (father to that Beauregard that is now with me) were persuading the same thing to the Count de Soissons. The thing was resolved on, but was not executed. They had the Cardinal in their hands at Amiens, but did not touch him: I never knew the reason why. I have heard every one of them speak of it, and they all laid the fault upon one another; in short, I could never come to the truth of that matter. But what is most true is, that as soon as they were come to Paris, they all of them were seized with fear. The Count de Soissons † . . . retired to Sedan, of which the Duke de Bouillon ‡ was then sovereign prince. The Duke d'Orleans went to Blois; and my brother, who was not of the enterprize at Amiens, but who was much in the Count de Soissons's interest, went post from Paris in the night, and got safe into Belle-Isle. § The King sent to Blois the Count de Guiche, who is now the Marechal de Grammont, and Chavigni, ¶ secretary of state, in whom the Cardinal altogether confided. They frightened the Duke of Orleans back to Paris, where his fright rather increased; for those that belonged

* Montresor gives the whole account of this conspiracy, in his Memoirs, which are very curious.

† There are here two lines scratched out.

‡ Frederick-Maurice de la Tour d'Auvergne, Prince of Sedan.

§ An island upon the coast of Brittany, belonging at that time to the family of Retz.

¶ Leon Bouthillier, son to Claude Bouthillier, superintendent of the finances

belonged to him, that is, those that were not bribed by the court, found no better means to make him look to his own safety, or rather to theirs, than to increase his fears, that thereby they might work the better upon him. It was from this proneness to fear in him, that both la Rochepot and I judged it possible for us to cast him headlong into our design. The expression is very irregular, but I can find no other that paints better the Duke's character of mind. Nothing escaped his thoughts, but nothing could move his will; or if by chance he was moved to will any thing, the difficulty was to bring that will to action, which could not be done but by pushing of him on, or rather, as I have said, by casting him headlong into the execution of what he but faintly willed.

La Rochepot had tried him all manner of ways, but being answered with nothing but with put-offs, and with the impossibility which he found in all the means he proposed, he at last thought of a way which certainly was hazardous, though by a fate common enough to extraordinary actions, it was much less so than it appeared.

The Cardinal was to stand godfather to Mademoiselle, * who you may imagine had been baptized long before, but the ceremonies of the church had not been performed. He was, for that purpose, to have come to the dome where Mademoiselle lodged, and the christening was to be celebrated in the chapel there. La Rochepot's project was, to continue at every instant to show the Duke the necessity of dispatching the Cardinal, but to speak with a greater reserve than ordinary about the means of doing it, that thereby the thing might be kept the more secret; that that matter therefore was to be talked of only in general terms, to inure the Duke to the fact, and to have an excuse ready after the fact done, by saying that it was not concealed from him; that he had given us several proofs that he could not be served but after that manner, as himself had owned several times to la Rochepot: that we had therefore nothing to do, but to make choice for our associates of some bold men, stout enough for the action: to have relays posted upon the road to Sedan, under some pretence or other, and then to execute the thing in the chapel at the christening, in the name of the Duke of Orleans, and in his presence: that there was no doubt but that the Duke

would
 * *Ann-Mary Louisa, daughter of the Duke of Orleans by his first wife, Mary de Bourbon, Dutchess of Montpensier.*

would own the fact with all his heart after it was done, and then it would be easy for us to carry him to Sedan on our relays, at a time when the dejection of the subministers, and the joy which the King was like to have for his being rid of his tyrant, would put the court rather upon an inquiry into his mal-administration, than upon revenging his death. This was la Rochepot's project, which was far from being impracticable; and I was much more sensible of its possibility when it was near being executed, than I had been at first by the single view which I had taken of it in my mind.

I had blamed, perhaps, a hundred times, in discourse with la Rochepot, the inaction of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Count de Soissons, at Amiens. Yet I must own, that I found myself just in the same case; that is, that upon the point of executing a thing which I had myself renewed the thoughts of in la Rochepot, I felt something within me that might be taken for fear, though I took it only for a scruple. I am not positive which of the two it was, but it is certain, that my imagination brought into my mind an unpleasant view of the assassination of a priest, and of a Cardinal. La Rochepot laughed at me for it, saying, 'When you are in the army, you will beat up no enemy's quarters, for fear of killing people in their sleep.' This shamed me out of my reflection: I embraced the crime, which appeared to me consecrated by great examples, and made justifiable and honourable by the danger. We concerted our matters together, and came to a resolution. I engaged in our enterprize that same evening Launoy, whom you see now at court under the name of Marquis de Piennes. La Rochepot made sure of la Frette, of the Marquis de Boisi, and of l'Etourville, whom he knew to be in the Duke of Orleans's interest, and incensed to the last degree at the Cardinal. We prepared all our matters, and looked on the execution as sure. The danger indeed was great, but we might reasonably enough expect to overcome it, because the Duke's guards which were within the place, had certainly taken our part against the Cardinal's, which could be but at the gate: but fortune, stronger than his guards, saved him from our attempt; for either he, or Made-moiselle, I remember not precisely which, fell sick at that time. The christening was put off, and so no opportunity was given us. The Duke went back to Blois, and the Marquis de Boisi declared that he would never inform against us, but that it was now impossible for him to be any longer in the plot, because that just at that time he happened to receive some sort of favour from the Cardinal.

When

When all is done, this enterprize, which had got us a mighty reputation had it succeeded, never pleased me. Not that I look upon it with the same concern, I do on the two faults * againit morality of which I had before been guilty, as I have mentioned to you : but yet, I wish with all my heart that I had never been in that plot. Old Rome indeed had cried it up ; but it is not upon actions of that sort that my esteem for old Rome is grounded. You see, Madam, what sense of gratitude I have for the desire you have expressed to be informed of all my actions ; for I cannot help giving you a faithful account even of my thoughts, and I take an incredible pleasure to rake them all up from the most secret recesses of my soul, that I may set them in view before you, and submit them to your judgment.

To be in a plot is often a mark of folly ; but nothing is more likely to make a man wise, at least for a time, than to have been in one. The reason is, that the danger still subsists after the opportunity is lost, which requires more prudence and circumspection than ordinary in one's behaviour.

The Count de la Rochepot finding that our enterprize had failed, retired for seven or eight months to Commercy, which belonged to him : the Marquis de Boiss went into Poitou, to the Duke de Rouanez, his father ; Pienne, la Frette, and l'Etourville, went to their several seats ; and as for myself, I was kept in Paris by the ties I had there, but I lived so close, and with such moderation, that I spent my whole time at my studies ; or, when I sometimes appeared abroad, it was with a decorum suitable to a clergyman. In short, we all behaved ourselves with so much caution, that nothing of what we had plotted ever came to light in Cardinal Richlieu's life-time, though no minister has ever had better spies. It was by the imprudence of la Frette and of l'Etourville, that it took vent after his death : I call it an imprudence, because nothing can be more against prudence, than to make one's self be thought capable of actions, of which the examples are to be feared.

The declaration which the Count de Soissons put out some time after, brought us out of our holes, and the sound of his trumpets gave us a new life. But here it is necessary to go a little back into that affair.

I have already told you that that Prince retired to Sedan, for no other reason than to be secure there, which he could not be.

* We find in the foregoing sheets no mention made of these faults, which must therefore have been spoken of in the chasms we have met with.

be at court. He wrote a letter from thence to the King, as soon as he arrived there: he assured him of his loyalty, and promised him to do nothing against his service, during his stay in that place. * It is certain, that for a long while he kept strictly to his word: he was not moved by all the offers that were made him both by the Spaniards and the Emperor: he rejected, even with anger, the counsels of St. Ibal, and of Bardouville, who would have persuaded him to be stirring. Campion, who belonged to him, and whom he had left at Paris to solicit the affairs which he might have at court, acquainted me by his master's order with every thing that passed. I remember, among other matters, a letter that the Count had writ to him, which he shewed me, and in which I read these very words: 'The persons whom you well know, omit nothing to oblige me to treat with the enemies. They tax me with weakness, because I dread the examples of Charles of Bourbon, † and of Robert of Artois.' ‡ The Count had charged Campion to shew me this letter, and to desire my opinion about it. I immediately took pen in hand, and added this word to Campion's answer: 'As for my part, I tax the same persons with folly.' This happened the very day I left Paris to go into Italy; and here I think fit to give you my reasons for being of that opinion.

The Count de Soissons had that stoutness of heart, which is commonly called valour, in the greatest degree possible; but had not, even in the least degree, that strength of mind which is called resolution. The first is common, even among the vulgar: the second is not only uncommon, but is even more so than can easily be imagined; and yet, strength of mind is much more necessary for great actions than stoutness of heart. And what greater action is there, and that requires greater parts, than to make one's self the head of a party? The conduct of an army requires less skill by much, as depending upon fewer wheels. There are indeed more wheels to manage in the conduct of a state; but those wheels are far

* He had the King's leave to stay, and the Duke de Bouillon had leave to harbour him there.

† Charles the third, Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, killed at the siege of Rome, the 6th of May, 1527.

‡ Robert, son of Philip of Artois, who being supplanted in that country by his aunt, supported by Philip de Valois, King of France, called over Edward III. King of England. He received several wounds at the siege of Vannes in Brittany, and died in London in 1343.

far from being so nice or easy to break as those of a party are. In short, I am persuaded that greater parts are required for the forming a good head of a party, than for the forming the ruler of a great empire; and that among the great qualifications required, strength of mind, or what is called resolution, goes hand in hand with that sort of judgment, which is to be found only in heroic minds, that can distinguish between things extraordinary and things impossible.

The Count had not one single grain of the sort of judgment I mean, which indeed is rarely to be found even in persons of the greatest wit. That of the Count was but of the middle size, which made him apt to distrust people unjustly; and of all characters, that of a distrustful man is the most directly opposite to a good head of a party. For the qualification the most requisite in the head of a party, and which is the oftenest, and the most indispensably to be practised, is to conceal always, and in many occasions even to suppress the best grounded suspicions.

This was the cause which made me disagree with those that were advising the Count to begin a civil war. Varicarville, who was the man of the best sense, and the least passionate, of all the persons of quality whom he had with him, has told me since, that when he saw what I had writ in *Campion's* letter, he immediately guessed what moved me to it, and what made me write in a manner so opposite to my own inclination.

It was more by Varicarville's wise management, than by the Count's own resolution, that he resisted all that year and all the next the Spaniards instances, and his own people's importunities. But nothing could defend him against Cardinal Richlieu's unquietness; for that minister, in the King's name, put him every day upon answering questions very unpleasant to him. It would be too long to enter into all the particulars, and it is enough for me to tell you, that the Cardinal, contrary to his interest, hurried the Count on to the civil war, by cavilling with him in a manner, which those whom fortune has favoured to a certain point never fail to use against the wretched.

The minds of people, then, beginning to be more incensed than ordinary, I was ordered by the Count de Soissons to take a secret journey to Sedan. There I saw him in the night, in the castle where he lodged, and I spoke to him in the presence of the Duke de Bouillon, and of St. Ibal, Bardouville, and Varicarville. The reason of my being sent for, was the Count's desire to be informed by word of mouth, and

and in a more particular manner than could be done by a letter, of the state Paris was then in. The account I gave him of it could not but be very pleasing to him. I told him, and spoke nothing but the truth, that he was beloved, honoured, adored there, when his enemy was there both feared and abhorred. The Duke de Bouillon, who was altogether for a civil war, took that opportunity to magnify the advantages that were to accrue from it. St. Ibal backed the Duke with all his power, and Varicarville opposed both the Duke and him with no less vigour.

I thought myself too young to give my opinion, but the Count would not suffer me to remain silent: whereupon, I took the liberty to represent to him, that indeed a Prince of the blood ought rather to chuse a civil war than to act beneath either his reputation or his dignity, but that I knew of no other consideration but these two, that might reasonably engage him into action; for whenever he is drawn into it by any other motive, he thereby exposes both his reputation and his dignity; that it seemed to me that he was far from being pressed to enter into action by either of those causes; that by his retreat into Sedan, he had secured himself from the low steps which the court would have engaged him in, one of which was to take but the left hand, even in the Cardinal's own house; that the hatred which that minister had incurred, made the public look upon the Count, even in his retreat, as a fitter subject for their love, which is always much better secured by keeping quiet than by stirring, because in this latter case, all the glory depends upon success, which nobody can be sure of; whereas the reputation which is acquired by keeping quiet, when there is no necessity to stir, is always secure, being grounded upon the people's settled aversion for the minister: that my opinion therefore was, that it would be more creditable for the Count to keep himself up by his own strength and merit, and by a prudent and wise conduct in the eyes of all Europe, against the artifice of so potent a minister as Cardinal Richlieu was, than to kindle a war which nobody knew what might be the event of; that it was true that the minister was abhorred, but that however, I did not think that that abhorrence was arrived to that certain pitch, the time of which must be exactly nicked for undertaking great revolutions; that the Cardinal's health began to receive many shocks, which, if some one of them did not help to carry him off, the Count however would reap the advantage from it, of convincing the king and the public, that, being as considerable as he was, by his birth, and the important

portant post of Sedan, * nothing but his love for the public good and tranquillity could have obliged him to stifle his private resentments; and that in case the Cardinal should grow better in health, one might be certain that the hatred against his power would increase the more, and that the abuse which he would not fail to make of that power, would infallibly offer fitter occasions for stirring, than the present ones.

It was much in this manner that I spoke to the Count, who seemed moved at what I said: but the Duke de Bouillon was angry at me for it. He told me in a kind of bantering tone: 'Your blood is very cold for so young a man.' To which I answered in these very words: 'All the Count de Soisson's friends, Sir, are so much obliged to you, that they ought to bear with any thing you say: but nothing but that consideration can keep me at present from thinking that you may not always be within your own walls.' This brought the Duke de Bouillon to a better temper: he used me with all the civility possible, and in such a manner, that from that moment our friendship took its beginning. I stayed two days longer at Sedan, during which the Count altered five times his resolution, and St. Ibar † owned to me twice, that one could hardly hope any thing good from a man of that humour. The Duke de Bouillon fixed him at last. Don Miquel de Salamanque, the King of Spain's minister, was sent for. My charge was to gain people in Paris; for which effect I was to receive a sum of money, and I came back from Sedan with more dispatches than would have sufficed to have brought two hundred people to the scaffold.

I had nothing to reproach myself with in all this affair; for what I had said was certainly right, the true interest of the Count being to decline the undertaking of a thing that was above his capacity, so that I might with reason consult now my own interest, which agreed altogether with this enterprize. I hated my profession more than ever. I was at first thrown into it by my friends prepossession, and was kept in it both by the ties of duty, and the allurements of pleasure. But now I found myself fastened in a manner, that it

VOL. I.

C

was

* A strong town upon the frontiers of Luxemburg, and upon the river Maes.

† Montresor, who was his cousin-german, calls him St. Ibar, and says, that he was a man of bigb designs, and an enemy to tyranny.

was hardly possible for me to get loose: I was past five and twenty, which age I easily conceived was too far advanced to carry a musket for the first time. What grieved me most was, my reflecting that there had been times, when by my too strong inclination for pleasure, I had myself fastened the bands, with which against my will, fortune had been pleased to tie me to the church. You may imagine by the melancholic reflections which this state of life had often brought to my mind, with what pleasure I found in this present posture of affairs a door open, whereby I might not only with decency, but with glory, quit my profession. I considered by what means I might distinguish myself in this enterprize; I found them out, and followed them. You will see by the sequel that nothing but fate could break my measures.

The Mareschals de Vitri * and de Bassompierre, the Count de Cramail, Monsieur du Fargis, and du Coudrai-Monpensier, had been for a long while, and were still, prisoners in the Bastile, upon several accounts. And as it is usual for prisoners to be better used after some time than at first, the gentlemen whom I have mentioned had now all manner of civility shewed them, nay had a great deal of liberty allowed them. Their friends had leave to see them sometimes, and to dine with them. By Monsieur du Fargis's means, who had married a sister of my mother's, I was become acquainted with the other gentlemen, and by conversing with them, I had observed dispositions in some of them, which gave occasion to some reflections I made. The Mareschal de Vitri was a man of little sense, but he was daring even to temerity, and the choice that was made of him to kill the Marshal d'Ancre, had given him in the world, tho' to my thinking very unjustly, a certain air of business as well as execution. I had found him much exasperated at the Cardinal, which made me think, that in this juncture he would not be unuseful. I thought not fit however to address myself directly to him. I chose rather to sound the Count de Cramail, † who was a man of understanding, and who governed the Mareschal de Vitri.

He

* The same that killed the Mareschal d'Ancre. He had been governor of Provence, but he lost that government, and was put into the Bastile, for having caned the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, Admiral of the Gallies.

† Of the house of Montluc. He had been much courted formerly by the Cardinal to be his friend; but the Count joining to the cabal formed against him, was clapped into the Bastile, where he remained for many years.

He understood me at half a word, and the first thing he asked me was, whether I had discovered any thing to our other friends in the Bastile? I replied without hesitation, 'No, Sir, and I'll frankly tell you the reason why: the Marechal de Bassompierre prates too much: I can rely upon the Marechal de Vitri only by your means: du Coudrai I dare not trust much; and my good uncle du Fargis is an honest brave man, but has a shallow head.' 'Who do you confide in in Paris,' said the Count at the same time? 'In no body Sir, replied I, but in yourself.' 'Very well,' said he hastily, 'you are my man: I am above four score, you are but five and twenty: I shall temper you, and you will heat me.' Upon this foot we began to work and lay our plan, and when I left him he spoke these very words: 'Give me eight days, after which I shall speak more precisely; and I hope to convince the Cardinal, that I am good at some other thing than writing of books.' This he said in relation to a book he had published, which the Cardinal made a great jest of, and which was indeed but a very poor performance. You may wonder that in such an enterprize as this, I made choice of prisoners for my associates; but the nature of the thing shews, that I could not have addressed myself better, as you shall now see.

Just eight days after, I failed not to go to the Bastile, where I dined with the Count de Cramail, at the Marechal de Bassompierre's, who immediately after dinner went to cards with Madam de Gravelle, another prisoner, and old du Tremblai, * governor of the Bastile, by which means Count Cramail and I were without the least suspicion left alone together. We went upon the terras, and there after the Count had thanked me for my confiding in him, and given me many assurances of his willingness to serve the Count de Soissons, he spoke to me in this manner: 'Nothing but the sword or Paris can rid us of the Cardinal. If I had been of the enterprize at Amiens, I had not done, or at least I flatter myself to think so, like those that missed there their aim. I am of this present enterprize, which in my opinion cannot fail, having well considered on it: here is what I have added to our last plan.' At this he slipped a paper into my hands, written on both sides, of which this is the substance: 'That he had communicated the thing to the Marechal de Vitri, whom he had found as ready as possible to serve the Count de Soissons; that they both warranted as sure their rendering

C 2

* Brother to the famous Capuchin, Father Joseph, Cardinal Richlieu's great confidant.

rendering themselves masters of the Bastile, where the whole garrison was at their command; that they likewise warranted their seizing on the Arsenal. That the moment that the news should come of the Count's winning a battle, they would declare themselves, provided I should first make good my word given to the Count de Cramail, which was, that they should be supported by a considerable number of officers of the trained-bands at Paris.' That paper contained besides several observations on the particular conduct which was to be observed in this enterprize, and even many advices relating to the Count's own conduct. What I admired most was, with how much facility these gentlemen might have performed what they had undertaken.

You may be sure that the knowledge I had of the disposition of things in the Bastile, which I had gained by my often visiting the prisoners, had made me look upon that undertaking of theirs at least as feasible, since it came into my head to address myself to them. But I must own that after I had examined the plan of the Count de Cramail, who was a man of great experience, and of extreme good sense, I found myself in a maze to see prisoners that could dispose of the Bastile with the same ease that a governor could dispose of a place of which he is altogether master.

I well knew of what weight all extraordinary circumstances are in popular commotions, which made me think that this being most extraordinary in its kind, would work to admiration on the minds of the citizens of Paris, as soon as it should break out. But I knew besides, that nothing gives a greater life or support to an enterprize, than the ridicule to which those against whom it is acted expose themselves, and I saw how easy it would be to turn entirely into ridicule the conduct of a minister that could suffer prisoners to put themselves in a condition to crush him in a manner with their fetters.

I stood not idle after this, but went on with other people. I opened the matter to the late M. d'Estampes, president of the Grand Council,* and to M. l'Ecuier, who is now the eldest

* A Sovereign Court, composed of eight Presidents, all of them Masters of Requests, and of fifty-four Counsellors, who serve for six months by turns. A Sovereign Court, or jurisdiction, is an assembly of Judges, who have received from the King, or Prince, a power of determining without appeal, all suits at law arising among their subjects. There are five of those Sovereign Courts at Paris, viz. the Parliament, the Chamber

eldest counsellor of the Chamber of Accounts. * They both were Colonels of the trained-bands, and in much credit with the citizens, and I found them both to be such as the Count de Soissons had described them to me, that is, altogether devoted to his interest, and fully persuaded that the stirring of the people was not only possible but even easy. I must desire you here to observe, that those two gentlemen were but meanly capacitated, even in things relating to their own profession, and besides were perhaps the two persons in the whole kingdom of the most pacific nature. But there are fires that will inflame the coolest bodies; the main is to know the moment, that you may make use of them.

I was ordered by the Count de Soissons to open myself in Paris only to those two gentlemen. I made bold, however, to add to them two others of my own chusing. The one was Parmentier, the † Attorney-general's substitute, and the other l'Epinay, an auditor in the Chamber of Accounts. Parmentier was Captain of the trained-bands, in the Ward of St. Eustace, that looks over the street of Desprouvelles, which is considerable by its being so near the great Market-hall. L'Epinay commanded as lieutenant a company that joined to the said Hall on Mont-matre side, and his interest in the company was greater than the Captain's, who was besides his brother-in-law. Parmentier, whose sense and courage made him as fit for a great action as any man whom I ever knew, assured me, that he could dispose in what manner he pleased of Brigalier, Counsellor of the Court ‡ of Aids, who

Chamber of Accounts, the Court of Aids, the Grand-council, and the Court of the Mint.

* *A Sovereign Court, into which all accounts relating to public money are delivered.*

† *The Attorney-general is a great officer of the body of the magistracy. He is the King's man, and the public's man, and none but he can propose any afflictive punishment. He ought to have all proceedings at law, in which the King, the public, minors, the church, or corporations are concerned, communicated to him. There is an Attorney-general in all parliaments and other Sovereign Courts in the kingdom; and his substitute, otherwise the King's Attorney, acts in the same manner as he in all the inferior courts.*

‡ *A Sovereign court established in several parts of the kingdom, to determine all differences that happen about the payment of aids, and all other public money, except the King's demesnes.*

who was Captain of his own Ward, and of great power among the people. But he added, that he was not fit to be made privy to the thing, being unsteady, and not well able to hold his tongue.

I had received from the Count twelve thousand crowns, under some pretence or other, by the hands of Duneau, one of his secretaries. I carried that sum to my aunt de Magnelay, telling her, that it was a restitution intrusted into my hands by a dying friend, upon condition that I should myself distribute it among such sort of poor as were not common beggars; that having taken my oath upon the Gospel to distribute it myself, I was put to a stand about it, being unacquainted with that sort of people, which was my reason for coming to her, to beg that she would distribute it in the manner that it was designed. My aunt was overjoyed with the thing, and said that she would willingly help me, but that being under an oath of distributing the money myself, she would have me be present, that I might thereby not only keep my word, but use myself besides to charitable good deeds. This was the thing which I aimed at, that I might make myself known to all the necessitous people in Paris. So I suffered myself to be every day in a manner dragged along by my aunt to every corner of the town, and to the very garrets; and I often saw at her house people well cloathed, and well enough known, who came however to share in secret charities. My good aunt seldom failed to tell them that they ought to remember her nephew in their prayers, because it had pleased God to make him an instrument of comfort to them. You may imagine what effect this produced upon the minds of persons, who of all others are the fittest by much to make use of in popular commotions. For the rich are drawn into them but unwillingly, and the known beggars do on that occasion more harm than good, for the fear they create of being pillaged by them. The fittest persons then in such cases, are those whose condition is bad enough to desire a change in the administration, but not so low as to be reduced to beg in public. It was to that sort of people that I took therefore great care to make myself known, and I spent three or four months to that purpose, with all the application possible. I knew Nanny and Betty, and I never failed to give some trifle or other of my own to the very children by the fire-side. I acted all this under the cover of my aunt de Magnelay, whose constant practice was to do the like; and I tried even to act the godly part, by going to the conferences at St. Lazarus.

My

My two correspondents at Sedan, who were Varicarville and Beauregard, wrote me word from time to time, that the Count had the best intentions in the world, and had not wavered in the least from the time he had taken his resolution. Nay, I remember that I once received a letter from Varicarville, wherein he said, that both he and ~~the Count~~ had formerly wronged the Count very much, for proof of which he assured me, that it was now necessary to keep him back, because he shewed an over-eagerness to enter into the Emperor and the King of Spain's measures. You must observe, that those two powers who had made the most pressing instances to draw him over them, whilst they saw him in suspense, began to cool when they thought they had him fast. And this was the fatal consequence of that slow way of acting, so natural to the politics of the Spaniards, and of those of the house of Austria, which is disguised however under the name of Prudence. But what you are to observe further is, that the Count, who had for three months together shewn an unalterable resolution, had no sooner brought those two powers to his terms, but that he himself began to flag. Such is the fate of irresolute minds, which are never so much wavering as when things are coming to a conclusion.

I had notice of these convulsive fits by an express sent me by Varicarville, which made me leave Paris that very same night, and I arrived at Sedan an hour after Anetonville, whose trade was negotiating, and who had been sent by the Duke de Longueville, brother-in-law * to the Count. He had brought with him some overtures for an accommodation, which were plausible, but at the same time captious: we all joined to oppose them. Those that had constantly attended the Count, repeated with warmth what had been his sentiments, and what he had said since he had declared for war. St. Ibal, who had been his agent at Brussels, insisted upon his engagements, upon his steps, upon his instances. He insisted upon what I had done at Paris by his order; upon the promises made to the Marechal de Vitri, and to the Count de Cramail; upon the secret intrusted to two persons by his direction, and to four more for his service, and with his approbation. There was matter enough to enlarge upon, and, since his engagement, the thing spoke of itself. We persuaded at last, or rather overcame, after four days conflict. Anetonville was sent back with a stout answer. The Duke
of

* The Duke de Longueville's first wife was sister to the Count de Soissons.

of Guise, * who had joined himself to the Count, and who had earnestly wished for the rupture, went to Liege to make levies. St. Ibal returned to Brussels to put the last hand to the treaty; Varicaryville went post to Vienna, and came back to Paris, but thought not fit to tell our associates the Count's irresolutions, of which he was not so perfectly cured, but that there were seen in him afterwards some appearances, though but very small.

As soon as I had an account that all was in readiness on the Spaniards side, I went to Sedan for the last time, to see every thing settled. There I found Meternic, Colonel of one of the oldest regiments of the empire, and sent thither by General Lamboy, who was advancing with an army in very good order, and composed most of it of veteran troops. The Colonel assured the Count that his General was ordered to act altogether as the Count should direct him, even to the giving battle to the Mareschal de Châtillon, † who commanded the army which the French had upon the Maeze. The enterprize that I had formed at Paris, depending altogether on the success of a battle, I was glad to see with my own eyes, as much as I could, how all matters stood. The Count approved of my going to Givet with Meternic, and there I found the army very fine, and in good order; I also found there Don Miquel de Salamanca, who confirmed to me all that Meternic had said; and I came back to Paris, with thirty-two blanks signed by the Count. I gave an account of all I knew to the Mareschal de Vitri, who thereupon writ with his own hand the whole order which we were to observe in our enterprize; and he carried that order about him for five or six days together, which is pretty extraordinary in a prisoner.

The substance of it was: that as soon as we had received the news of the battle's being won, we were to publish it all over Paris, with all manner of flourishes: the Mareschal de Vitri and the Count de Cramail were, at the same time, to communicate the whole affair to the rest of the prisoners, and they all together, were to make themselves masters of the Bastile, and to seize upon the Governor. That done, they were to issue out into St. Anthony's street, with a good number of gentlemen which the Mareschal had secured, and they were there to hallow and cry, God save the King, and the Count

* Henry, second of the name.

† Gaspard de Coligni, the third of that name, born in 1584, and died in 1646.

Count de Soissons. The President d'Estampes was, at a first time, to have all the drums of his company to beat, and he was to join the Marechal de Vitri at St. John's church-yard, from whence they were to march to the parliament, to deliver to the chamber the Count de Soisson's letter, and to oblige that company to put out an arrest in his favour. I was on my part, to put myself at the head of the companies of Parmentier and of Guerin, on which, l'Epinay assured me that I might rely. I was to have with me five and twenty gentlemen, whom I had engaged in my interest under divers pretences, and who knew themselves little or nothing of the matter. My Governor, who himself believed that my design was to carry away Mademoiselle de Rohan, had brought me twelve out of his country. I had projected to make myself master of the Pont-neuf, that I might by the keys lend a hand to those that were to go towards the courts of judicature, and afterwards I was to set up barricadoes in the places that should appear to stir the most in our favour. The disposition which we had put things into at Paris, made us believe that the success was infallible: the secret was kept even to a wonder, and in that nick of time, the Count gave a battle and won it. You think, without doubt, our affairs much advanced by it; but nothing like that, the Count was killed at the time that the battle was won, and was killed in the midst of his own men, though nobody ever knew how the thing happened, which is hardly credible, and yet true.

You may judge of the condition I was in, when this reached my ears. The Count de Cramail, who was certainly the wisest of us all, thought of nothing now but how to keep the thing secret. It was intrusted but to six persons in Paris, which however we thought a great many: but the divulging of it was much more to be feared from those at Sedan, whose interest to hold their tongue was not near so great as ours, because keeping where they were, their apprehension of danger could not be so great; and yet the secret was religiously kept by all. The Marechal de Vitri and the Count de Cramail, who had some thoughts of making their escape, plucked up a good heart, when they found that nobody spoke. This occasion, and another of that kind, which I am to speak of in the sequel of these Memoirs, has obliged me to think, and to say often, that secrecy is not so rare among persons used to great affairs as is believed.

The Count de Soisson's death fixed me in my profession, because I was persuaded that nothing considerable enough could now offer itself, and that at my age it was not fit for me to

leave it, but by acting something considerable. Besides, Cardinal Richlieu declined daily in his health, and the archbishopric of Paris began to flatter my ambition; I therefore resolved not only to follow my profession, but to do it in good earnest. Madam de Guimené had been taken away from me by Mr. d'Andilly six weeks before, and was retired to Port-Royal: she had ceased to curl and powder her hair, and had dismissed me in the most authentic form that the order of penitence could require.

If I was thus deprived of the Place-royale, the devil had not left me the possession of the Arsenal; for I had discovered by means of a trusty valet-de-chambre there, whom I had won to my interest, that the Marechal de la Meilleraie's Captain of the guards, was at least as much in Madam de la Meilleraie's favour as I. Was not this enough, think ye, to make me a saint? The truth is, that I became by it much more orderly, outwardly at least. I lived in a very retired manner, and left nothing now doubtful about my being fixed to my profession. I studied much, and became acquainted with most of the learned and pious men. My house became a kind of an academy, but I took all possible care that that academy should be kept free, and not be made a tribunal seat.* I began to cultivate, but without affectation, the friendship of the Canons and Curates, which I met with of course at my uncle's. I did not act the godly part, because I was not sure that I could counterfeit it long; but I shewed a great esteem for all the godly, and with them, this is one of the most essential points of godliness. I brought even my pleasures to agree with the rest of my conduct. It was not possible for me to be without a love-intrigue of some kind; but I had one with Madam de Pommereux, who was both young and a coquet, after a manner that was convenient for me, because having all the young gentlemen at her house, and at her heels, their pretended affairs with her, covered mine, which was then, or at least became soon after, more real. In short, the manner in which I behaved myself proved successful, and to that degree, that I may truly say that I became very fashionable among those of my profession; and the godly themselves said of me, what Mr. Vincent † had applied to me

out

* *As the French academy is, upon which this seems to reflect.*

† *Vincent de Paul, who had been his preceptor. See the note relating to him in the Preface.*

out of the gospel : that though I wanted piety, I was not far off from the kingdom of heaven.

Fortune favoured me on this occasion more than she was wont to do. I found by chance Mestrezat, a famous minister of Charenton, at Madam de Rambure's, a hugonot lady, finical in her manners, and affecting to appear learned. She engaged me with the minister out of mere curiosity, in a dispute which ended not here; for it lasted nine several days together. The Mareschal de la Force * and Monsieur de Turenne † were present at three or four of our conferences. A gentleman of Poitou, who assisted at them all, became thereby a convert. I was not then quite six and twenty, so that this gentleman's conversion made a great noise; but among other effects, it produced one which had but very little relation to its cause. I shall tell it you presently, but I must first do justice to a piece of civility paid me by Mestrezat at one of those conferences.

I had had some advantage over him in the fifth, wherein we treated of the vocation of pastors: but when we came in the sixth to treat of the Pope's authority, he then puzzled me; for being unwilling to give any discontent to the court of Rome, I went upon principles not so easy to defend as those of the Sorbonne are. The minister perceived the pain I was in, and was willing to spare me in the points where he saw that I might have been obliged, in answering his arguments, to say something that might have shocked the Nuntio. I observed this civil way of proceeding, and thanked him for it at the end of the conference, Monsieur de Turenne being present. His answer was: 'It were not well in me to hinder the Abbot de Retz from being a Cardinal.' This politeness, if you observed it, favoured nothing of a Geneva pedant. But I have told you, that these conferences produced an effect nothing like its cause, and this is it.

Madam de Vendome, ‡ whose character you must have heard of, conceived after these conferences an affection for me, little inferior to that of a mother. She had been present at them, though certainly she understood nothing of our dispute;

* *James Nompar de Caumont, Duke de la Force, Peer and Mareschal of France, who died in the year 1652, aged about 93.*

† *Henry de la Tour, Viscount de Turenne.*

‡ *Wife to the Duke de Vendome, and daughter of Philip Emanuel of Lorain, Duke de Mercœur.*

pute; but what strengthened her good opinion of me, was what was said in my behalf by the Bishop of Lizieux, † who was her director, and always lodged at her house when he staid at Paris. He was come back from his diocese much about this time, and having a great friendship for me, and finding me besides disposed to attend my profession, which was the thing he had earnestly wished for, he took all imaginable care to set off to the world the few good qualities he might find in me. It is certain that it was to him I owed what small notice was then taken of me; and I may say, that nobody's approbation was better able in France, to set off a man. His sermons had raised him from a low and foreign birth (he was a Fleming) to be a Bishop. He had maintained himself in that dignity by a piety free from ostentation or varnish. His disinterestedness went beyond that of anchorites, and he shewed at the same time a courage equal to that of St. Ambrose, having preserved at court, and with the King, a freedom which Cardinal Richlieu, who had studied divinity under him, both feared and revered. This honest prelate had taken such a fancy for me, that he read me lessons thrice a week on St. Paul's epistles; and having conceived the design of making a convert of Monsieur de Turenne, it came at the same time into his head to give me the credit of that conversion.

Monsieur de Turenne had a great respect for him, but he made at that time a greater shew still of it, for a reason which he has since told me, but not till above ten years after. The Count de Brion, whom I believe you may have seen in your youth, bearing the title of Duke d'Amville, was much in love with Mademoiselle de Vendôme, who has been since Madam de Nemours. He was likewise a great friend of Monsieur de Turenne's; who to oblige him, and give him an opportunity of seeing the lady oftener, made a shew of liking the instructions of the Bishop of Lizieux, to whom for that reason he paid a greater respect than ordinary. The Count de Brion, who had been twice a capuchin, and who made a perpetual hotchpotch of devotion and of sins, seemed extremely

† His name was Cospean. He assisted Lewis XIII. who had the highest esteem for him, to the very last instant; and that Prince, some moments before he died, embraced him, calling him his father. He was likewise in great esteem with Cardinal Richlieu, to whom having dedicated a Latin book, the Cardinal, whose time was precious, returned him thanks with only these three Latin words, *Accepi, legi, probavi.*

extremely affected with his friend's pretended conversion; and never missed being present at the conferences which were often held, and never any where but in Mademoiselle de Vendôme's chamber. Brion * was a man but of little sense, but he knew a great deal by rote, which in many occasions supplies a defect of sense. That rote of his, with Monsieur de Turenne's manner, which is known to you, and the indolence that appeared in Mademoiselle de Vendôme, made me all this while suspect nothing at all of an intrigue between them. You must give me leave, madam, to make here a short digression before I continue this story. † - - -

It often happened, that at the end of our conferences we took a walk in the garden, and there the late Madam de Choisi proposed one day to go to St. Cloud, and in a jesting manner told Madam de Vendôme that we ought to divert the Bishop there with a play. The good prelate, who was a great admirer of Corneille's tragedies, said he should make no scruple of hearing one, provided it were out of town, and the company was but small. So the thing was agreed upon, and the whole company was to consist only of Madam and Mademoiselle de Vendôme, Madam de Choisi, Monsieur de Turenne, Monsieur de Brion, Voiture and myself. Brion undertook for the players and the music, and I took the collation upon me. We went to St. Cloud, where the players, who acted that evening before the Cardinal at Ruel, could arrive but late. The Bishop was pleased with the music, and Madam de Vendôme, whose daughter danced, could have looked on for ever, though the young lady danced alone. In fine, we were so long amused there, that the day began to dawn (the days were then at the longest) when we came to the descent of the Bons-hommes. Just at the bottom of it our coach stopt short. I was seated at one of the boots by Mademoiselle de Vendôme, and I asked the coachman what made him stop? He answered me all in a fright: 'Will you have me drive over all the devils in hell which I see here before me.' I have always been short-sighted, so that, though I looked out, I could see nothing. Madam de Choisi, who sat with Monsieur de Turenne at the other boot of the coach, was the first that perceived from within the coach,

* Francis-Christopher de Levi, de Ventadour, Duke d'Amville.

† The whole digression, which contained two sides, is torn off.

coach, what occasioned our coachman's fright. I say from within the coach, for five or six footmen that stood behind it were crying out, *Jesus-Maria*, quaking already for the fear they were in. Madam de Choisi's shrieks made Monsieur de Turenne get out of the coach. For my part I thought that we were beset with highwaymen, and I got out of the coach likewise. I took one of the footmen's swords, which I drew, and went to join Monsieur de Turenne on the other side. I found him looking stedfastly on something which I could not see. I asked him what he was looking upon. He jogged me on, and with a low voice: 'You shall know,' says he, 'but we must not fright the ladies.' The truth is, some of them rather roared or howled than any thing else. Voiture* began an *oremus*: you may have heard how piercing a voice Madam de Choisi had: Mademoiselle de Vendôme was at her beads, whilst her mother would have confessed herself to the good Bishop, who said to her, 'Be not afraid, daughter, you are in the hands of God.' The Count de Brion was upon his knees, singing with all the footmen the Litanies of our Blessed Virgin. All this, as you may well imagine, past at the same time, and in an instant. Monsieur de Turenne, who had drawn the little sword he wore by his side, after he had looked about a little, turned himself to me, and said with the same air that he would have asked for his dinner, or given the enemy battle; 'Let's go towards them.' 'Towards whom?' replied I; for the truth is, I began to think they had all lost their senses. 'Why,' said he, 'towards those devils, for they may really be devils for ought I know.' We had by this time advanced some steps towards the Savonnerie, and consequently were come nearer the pretended devils, so that I began to perceive something. The first appearance seemed to me a long procession of black sprights, the sight of which put me at first into a greater trouble than Monsieur de Turenne had been in. But reflecting at the same time, that I had long wished to come at the sight of spirits, and that I was like to see some here, it put me into a quicker motion than Monsieur de Turenne's way allowed him to use, and I gave two or three jumps towards the procession I had seen. Those we had left in the coach, who thought us engaged with all the devils in hell, increased their roaring, and yet there were others more frightened than they. For you must know that the reformed barefoot

Austin

* *Vincent de Voiture, of the French Academy, famous for his letters.*

Austin Friars, who are called black friars, were our pretended devils. When they saw two men coming towards them with sword in hand, you may imagine how great their fear was. One of them detached himself from the rest, and speaking aloud, said to us: 'Gentlemen, we are poor friars, who design no body any hurt, and are going to cool ourselves in the river for our health.' Upon this we went back to the coach, ready to split our sides with laughing, as you may well imagine, and each of us made a reflection at that moment, which we told one another the next morning. Monsieur de Turenne protested to me, that the first apparition of these pretended sprights afforded him some pleasure, though he had always thought he should be frightened if he ever saw any thing of that nature: and I owned to him, that though I had all along wished to see such an apparition, yet at the first sight I was not without some fear. We made a second observation, which was, that the account given us of most of the lives that have been written, is not to be relied on. For Monsieur de Turenne protested to me that he was not seized in the least with fear at the adventure which I have mentioned, though he owned he gave me occasion to think quite otherwise by his slow motion and his steadfast looks. And when I owned to him that I was at first seized with some fear, he protested again that he would have sworn to the contrary, having seen no other appearance in me than that of courage and alacrity. At this rate who can be able to write the truth, but those who have themselves experienced it? The President de Thou was in the right to say that we have no true histories, but such as have been written by men sincere enough to speak the truth in what relates to themselves. As for my part, madam, I do not pretend to any merit in my morals for being sincere with you; for I find so great a satisfaction when I give you an account of all the windings and turnings of my own heart, that I act more from a principle of pleasure, than from the reason of the thing itself; when I keep so religiously close to truth.

Mademoiselle de Vendôme entertained upon this the most contemptible thoughts of Brion; who, poor man, had indeed shewed, in this ridiculous adventure, a faint-heartedness hardly possible to be expressed. She laughed at him with me, as soon as I got back into the coach, saying: 'I find by the esteem I have for courage, that I am a true granddaughter to Henry the Great. As for you, you must be free from all fear, since you have not been frightened on this occasion.' 'I have had my share of the fright,' replied I,

'but

‘but not being so godly as Brion, it did not incline me to sing litanies.’ ‘No,’ said she, ‘you have not been frightened, which makes me fancy that you believe no devils; for Monsieur de Turenne, who is a man of the greatest courage, appeared himself much frightened, and went not so fast on as you.’ I confess that the distinction she made between Monsieur de Turenne and me, was pleasing to me, and brought into my head the thought of speaking somewhat to her in the language of a lover. ‘One may,’ said I, ‘believe a devil, and yet not fear him: there are things in the world more terrible than the devil.’ ‘And what can that be?’ answered she. ‘Oh,’ said I, ‘the things I mean are so terrible, that I dare not so much as name them.’ She understood my meaning, as she has confessed to me since, though she would not then own it. That made her join in conversation with the company, and so we came back to the Hôtel de Vendôme, and from thence every one went their way.

Mademoiselle de Vendôme was not what is called a great beauty, though she certainly was very handsome, and what I had said both of her and of Mademoiselle de Guise, was approved of; which is, that they were beauties of quality, and that one wondered not, after having seen them, to find them Princesses. Mademoiselle de Vendôme had but very little wit; but it is certain, that at that time her simplicity was not yet well laid open. She had a gravity in her air that was not an effect of sense, but of indolence, and with that gravity there was mixed a small grain of haughtiness. Now you know a grave air hides many defects; so that in the whole, I may say that she was lovely. I pursued my point, and found therein admirable conveniencies. I drew upon myself every body’s praises for sticking so close to the Bishop of Lizieux, who lodged at the Hôtel de Vendôme. The conferences which I have mentioned were followed with an explanation of St. Paul’s epistles, which the good Bishop took delight to make me repeat in French, under pretence that they might be understood by Madame de Vendôme, and my aunt de Magnelay, who seldom failed to be there. We went twice to Anet; * and staid a fortnight there the first time, and six weeks the second time. In our second journey thither I went with † It is true, I went not so far as I could have wished, neither have I ever been so far.

The

* *A magnificent castle, belonging to the Duke de Vendôme.*

† *There are here two words scratched out.*

The lady had prescribed herself bounds, which she would never transgress. I went however very far, and for a long time, but was stopped in my career by her marriage, which did not happen till a little after the late King's death. She then gave herself up to devotion; she preached to me, and I answered her. . . . I remained her humble servant, and had luck enough to give her good proofs of it in what happened afterwards in the civil war.

You see that I am religious even to a scruple in obeying you; for I must beg leave to put you again in mind here, of the command you laid upon me at a friend's of yours, two nights before you went from Paris; which was, that I should not hide in this relation any thing whatsoever of what has happened to me.

By what I have said, you will find that my ecclesiastical occupations were varied and enlivened by others a little more diverting. But the second sort did not at all disfigure the first. The decorum was observed in every thing; or if I was a little wanting in that, my luck supplied all, and that luck was such, that the whole clergy of the diocese wished for nothing more than to see me succeed my uncle, neither could they hide the passion they had for it. Cardinal Richlieu was far from being of the same mind. My family was odious to him, and he disliked me for the reasons which I have touched upon before. Two things happened at that time, which increased his displeasure against me.

You may remember that I have sometimes told you that I knew a man who had but small defects, but that every one of these defects was either the product or the cause of some good qualities in him. Now in a conversation I had with the late President de Mesmes, I was saying something quite opposite to this, and yet that may be true too. That was, that Cardinal Richlieu had not one great qualification but what was either the product or the cause of some great defect in him. This was said in a closet where nobody but he and I were. It came however, I do not know by whose means, to the Cardinal's ears, and I was named to be the man that spoke these words: you may judge of the consequence. The other thing that angered him, was my going at a juncture of time that was taken notice of, to the President de Barillon, *
then

* John James Barillon, President of the Inquests. The Queen, some days before King Lewis the Thirteenth died, sent for Barillon, and for the Cardinal de Retz's father, to advise with

then prisoner at Amboise for some remonstrances he had made in Parliament. Two wretches that were hermits, and at the same time false coiners, had had some secret communication with the Duke de Vendôme, perhaps about their last trade. But not being pleased with him, they accused him very falsely of proposing to them the killing the Cardinal, and to give a greater credit to their depositions, they joined with the Duke all those whom they thought noted by his eminence. The Count de Montresor and the President de Barillon were of the number. I was one of the first that heard of it, by the means of Bergeron, clerk to Monsieur Desnoyers; and having a great friendship for the President, I took post the same evening, and went to Amboise, with a design to get him out of that place, which was not a difficult thing to do. But finding himself innocent, he would not so much as hearken to my proposal, but staid at Amboise, in contempt both of the informers and of the information. This journey of mine gave the Cardinal occasion to tell the Bishop of Lizieux, that all his enemies were my friends. 'Tis true,' answered the Bishop, 'and instead of finding fault with him, you ought to esteem him for it, because I have observed, that every one of those you mean, were his friends before they became your enemies.' 'If that be true,' said the Cardinal, 'people are to blame to tell me all the tales I hear.' The Bishop did me on that occasion all the good offices possible, and with that success, that he told me the next day, and has confirmed it to me many times since, that nothing but the Cardinal's death could have prevented him from restoring me to his good opinion. What disposed the Cardinal the more to it was the Bishop's assuring him, that though I had cause to think myself lost at court, I always refused entering into any friendship with Mr. de Cinq-Mars, * Master of the horse. The truth is, that Mr. de Thou, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship, pressed the matter to me, but I lent no ear to it, because from the beginning I thought the foundation of the design not solid, and the event has justified that I was not mistaken.

The

with them about the choice of a ministry after the King's death.

* Henry Coeffier, Marquis of Cinq-Mars, and son to the Marechal d'Effiat. Every body versed in the history of that time, knows of the sad end of that gentleman, and of his friend Mr. de Thou, who was son to the famous M. de Thou the historian.

The Cardinal de Richlieu's death prevented the Bishop of Lizieux's putting the last hand to my reconciliation, and so I was left in the throng of those that had been noted by the ministry. That characterism was not favourable for the first weeks that followed the death of the Cardinal. For though the King was pleased to the highest degree with his death, he thought fit however to shew other outward signs. He ratified the gifts which the Cardinal had made of places and governments, he caressed his near relations, he maintained all his creatures in their posts, and he affected to give but a cold reception to those that had been out of favour with him. I was the only one in that case that was excepted. For when the Archbishop of Paris presented me to the King, he treated me not only with civility, but with a distinction that surprized every body. He spoke to me of my studies and of my sermons, and even rallied me in an agreeable and obliging manner. He besides ordered me not to let a week pass without making my court to him. There were two causes of this good usage, which his Majesty acquainted the Queen with, and which came to our knowledge but the day before he died.

Those two causes were founded upon two adventures which happened to me at my leaving the college. I have omitted the mentioning them, because being nothing related to any other passage of my life, I thought them not worthy your notice. I am now obliged to expose them to your view, because, as it has pleased Fortune, they have been followed with consequences much greater than could naturally have been expected. But besides, the truth is, that they came not at first to my remembrance, and nothing but the sequel of things has reminded me of them.

Soon after my leaving college, my governor's valet-de-chambre found at a wretched woman's that was a pin-maker, a niece of hers not above fourteen, who was of a most surprising beauty. He bought her for me for 150 pistoles, after I had had the sight of her. He took a small house for her at Issy, and put a sister of his with her. I failed not to go thither the next day, and found her extremely dejected. However, I was not surprized at it, thinking it a natural effect of her bashfulness. But the day after, that I went thither again, I was struck with something more surprising still, and more extraordinary than her beauty, and that is as much as can be said. She spoke to me in a modest and a godly manner, but free from passion. She indeed fell a crying, because

because she could not help it. I found that she feared her aunt to a degree that made me pity the girl. I admired, first her wit, and afterwards her virtue. I pressed her as much as was necessary for the trying her, but I became ashamed of myself. I staid till night came, to take her along with me in my coach. I then carried her to my aunt de Magnelay, who put her in a convent, where she died eight or ten years after, with the reputation of a saint.

This poor maid owed to my aunt, that the pin-maker's woman's threats had so frightened her, that she had yielded at last to whatever I had pleased; and my proceeding in this matter so moved my aunt, that she went the next morning and told it the Bishop of Lizieux, who reported it to the King at his dinner. This is one of the two adventures: the other, though of another nature, worked in no less a degree upon the King's mind.

A year before this, I went to hunt the stag at Fontainebleau, with Mr. de Souvré's hounds; and having tired my horses, I took post to return back to Paris. I had with me my governor and one valet-de-chambre, but being better mounted than they, I arrived before them at Juvifi, where I got my saddle put on the best post-horse which I could meet with there. Coutenau, Captain of the small company of the king's light-horse, a man brave, but whimsical, arrived there likewise at that time upon a post-horse coming from Paris. He immediately ordered the hostler to take my saddle off the horse's back, and put his own on it. I came up to him and said, that I had hired that horse; but seeing me with a band, and a black suit on, he took me for what in effect I was, a young student, and so answered me only with a swinging blow that set my nose a bleeding. I drew my sword, and he likewise. At our first pass his foot slipped, and he stumbled down, which trying to prevent, he hurt his hand against a piece of wood that happened to be sharp at one end, which made his sword fall. I retired two steps, and bid him take it up, which he did, but by the point, and presenting the hilt to me, he asked me a thousand pardons. But when my governor, (who was arrived by this time) told him who I was, he then asked me a million. This made him go back to Paris, where he told the King (whom he was very free with) this small adventure. The King liked it, and remembered it in due time, as I shall mention more particularly when I come to his death. I reassume the thread of my narration.

The

The kind manner in which the King treated me, made my friends hope that some way might be found for my obtaining the coadjutorship of Paris. They met at first with many obstacles in my uncle's mind, which was of the narrowest, and consequently full of jealousy and difficulties. By the means however of Desita his lawyer, and of de Couret his almoner, they got his consent. But at the same time they committed a fault which broke their measures, at least for that time. They published, against my advice, my uncle's consent, and they even suffered the Sorbonne, the curates, and the chapter, to thank him for it. This made a great noise, and, indeed, too much; for Cardinal Mazarin, * Desnoyers, and Chavigny, took occasion from it to traverse me, by telling the King, That it was not fit for bodies to mark out themselves their own archbishops. So that when the Marechal de Scomberg, † whose first wife was my cousin-german, sounded the matter, he found no likelihood in it. The King answered with a great deal of kindness as to my person, but said, I was yet too young.

We discovered some time after an obstacle more hidden, and by that more dangerous. Desnoyers, Secretary of State, and of the three ministers he that seemed the most in favour at court, was by profession a bigot, and, as it was believed, even a secret Jesuit. It came into his head to get the Archbishopric of Paris for himself, and as my uncle's infirmities made people reckon from month to month on his death as on a sure thing, he thought fit at all adventures to remove me from Paris, where he saw me extremely beloved, and to that end to give me an employment that might appear, even in my eyes, handsome and reasonable, for one of my age. He caused therefore Father Sirmond a Jesuit, and confessor to the King, to propose me to his Majesty for the Bishopric of Agde, which has but twenty-two parishes, but is worth above 3000 livres a year. The King was well pleased with the proposal, and sent me a brevet for it the very same day. I must own that this perplexed me beyond expression. My devotion did

* Mazarin was sworn of the King's council, at the recommendation of Cardinal Richlieu, immediately after that Cardinal's death, and jointly with Desnoyers and Chavigny, who were both of them secretaries of state, managed all affairs in private with his Majesty, before they were brought before the council.

† Charles, Duke d'Allum, Peer and Marechal of France, by the name of Schomberg.

did not incline me to spend my days in Languedoc. But the consequences of a refusal were such, that not one man durst have advised me to it. I resolved, therefore, to be my own adviser. I went to the King, and after I had thanked him, I told him, that I feared extremely the weight of a remote bishopric. I said, that my years required advice and directions, which could be met with but imperfectly in provinces so far off. Let your fancy supply the rest, I added. My luck was greater than my discretion. The King took not my refusal ill, and he continued to use me kindly. This usage of his, with Desnoyer's retreat from court, by Chavigny's cunning, who had laid snares for him, which he fell into, renewed my hopes of the coadjutorship of Paris. But the King being entered into engagements that were well known, to grant nothing of that kind since what he had done for the Archbishop of Arles, we kept the thing in suspense, and left it to time, the rather, because the King grew every day worse and worse, and that I had cause to hope every thing from the Regency. At last the King died. The Duke de Beaufort, * who from the beginning was devoted to the Queen, and even a pretended lover of hers, took a fancy to govern, which he was less capable of than his groom. The Bishop of Beauvais, † a greater idiot than any one whom you ever knew, put on the figure of a first minister, and his first step was to require the Hollanders to become Roman catholics, if they desired to keep in alliance with France. The Queen was ashamed of that farce of her minister. She commanded me to go from her to my father, to offer him the first place; but finding him obstinately bent not to leave his cell at the father's of the oratory, she put herself into Cardinal Mazarin's hands.

You may imagine that it was not difficult for me to find room among others, chiefly at a time when nothing was refused. I remember that la Fueillade, brother to him whom you see now at court, was then used to say, That the French language was reduced but to four short words; *The Queen's* *so good*.

Madam de Magnelay, and the Bishop of Lizieux, asked the coadjutorship for me, but were refused, the Queen saying, that she would not grant it but at my father's request, who would

* Francis, second son of Caesar, Duke de Vendôme. He was killed at the siege of Candy in 1669.

† Augustin Potier.

would by no means appear at the *louvre*. At last he came thither, for once and no more. The Queen declared publicly to him, that she had received orders from the late King, the day before he died, to give it me, and that the King told her in the presence of the Bishop of Lizieux, that he had had me always in his view for it, since the two adventures of the pin-maker's niece, and of Coutenau. Judge you what relation those two trifling matters have with the archbishopric of Paris! And yet this is the manner most things are brought about in.

All the clergy, in their several bodies, came to thank the Queen. L'Hôier, Master of Requests, and my particular friend, brought me sixteen thousand crowns for my bulls. I sent them to Rome by an express, with an order not to ask for any * *gratis*, that there might be no delay in the expedition, nor any time given the ministers to traverse it. I received the bull the eve of All-saints. The next day I went into the pulpit at St. John's en Greve, to begin there for the first time to preach the advent, which I went through with. But it is now time to take a little breath. Methinks I have hitherto appeared but in the pit, or at most among the siders; you shall now see me upon the stage, where I shall present you with some scenes, if not worthy of you, yet somewhat less unworthy your attention.

* The word *gratis* is used in the Chancery of Rome, to signify as well the abatement of part of the fees due there for the expediting any bull as the remission of the whole.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

M E M O I R S

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ.

BOOK II.

A. D. 1643.

I Begun my Advent sermons at St. John's en Greve upon All-saints day, with such a concourse of people, as might well be expected in a city so little used, as Paris was, to see her Archbishop's in the pulpit. The great secret for those that enter into employments, is at first to seize upon people's fancy by an action which some circumstances make peculiarly their own.

Being obliged to enter into orders, I retired to St. Lazarus, where I gave the exterior all the common appearances. My inward employment was to consider seriously and maturely, in what manner I was to behave myself, in which I met with many difficulties. I found the Archbishopric of Paris debased as to the world, by my uncle's mean ways, and desolate as to God by his negligence and his incapacity. I foresaw infinite obstacles to the bringing it again upon a right footing, and I was not so blind, but that I saw that the greatest and most insuperable came from myself. I was not ignorant of the necessity there is for a bishop to live regularly, and I was convinced that my uncle's disorderly and scandalous life made that necessity still greater and more indispensable in me. But at the same time I found that it was not in my power to live in that manner, and that all the reasons which conscience or honour could suggest to me against an irregular life, would prove but insignificant and weak. After six days deliberation, I chose to act ill, designedly, which as to God is beyond comparison the most criminal, but which is without doubt the wisest as to the world. The reason is, that when you act in that manner, you always take some previous measures that will cover part of the ill action, and that you avoid besides the most dangerous sort of ridicule that persons of our profession

profession can be exposed to, which is the mixing preposterously sin with devotion.

This was the holy disposition I was in when I left St. Lazarus. However, it was not bad in every respect, for I had fully resolved to discharge exactly all the outward duties of my profession, and to take as much care of other people's souls, as I took little of my own.

The Archbishop of Paris, who was the weakest of all men, was by a consequence common enough, the most vain-glorious. He had suffered the lowest officers of the crown to precede him, whilst he refused to give the upper hand in his own house to persons of quality that had business with him. I took a quite opposite way. I gave the upper hand in my house to every one, and accompanied them even to their coach. This gave me the reputation with many of being civil, and with the rest of being humble; and till such time as I thought that reputation well fixed, I avoided without affectation, to meet at any place of ceremony with any persons of high rank. But when I thought it firmly established, I took occasion from a marriage contract to dispute with the Duke of Guise, the rank in which we were to sign. I had well studied my right, and had caused it to be well studied by others; and that right was indisputable within the limits of the diocese. So the precedency was adjudged me by an arrest of council, and I experienced by the great number of persons which declared for me on this occasion: *That to descend to the lowest, is the surest way to become a match for the greatest.* I made my court to the Queen once a week at mass, and I seldom failed going from thence to dine with Cardinal Mazarin. That minister treated me very kindly, and I may say, liked my conduct mighty well, for my refusing to take part with the cabal of the *Importants*, though there were some amongst them that were my particular friends. Perhaps, Madam, you will not be displeased if I tell you what that cabal was.

The Duke de Beaufort, whose sense did not reach by much to the common size, finding that the Queen had given her trust to Cardinal Mazarin, was transported with anger at it in a most imprudent manner. He rejected all the advantages that were offered him with profuseness. His vanity carried him to give in public all the demonstrations of an angry lover. He shewed no manner of regard for the Duke of Orleans, and from the very first days of the regency, he

braved the late Prince of Condé. * But he incensed this last beyond measure, by declaring himself publicly against the Dutchess of Longueville, † and by favouring the Dutchess of Montbazon, ‡ who had offended the other in no less a manner, than in counterfeiting or shewing five of her letters, writ, as it was pretended, to Coligni. § The Duke de Beaufort, to support what he was doing against the Queen, the minister, and all the Princes of the blood, formed a cabal, which consisted of men that died since all mad, and whom even then I did not think very wise. Such were Beaupré, Fontrailles, and Fiesque. Montresor, who had the looks of a Cato, but not the deeds, and with him Bethune, joined themselves to the others. The first was my near relation, the other a pretty good friend of mine. They obliged Mr. de Beaufort to make me many advances, which I received with a great deal of respect, but entered into nothing. I even spoke my mind plainly to Montresor. I told him that I owed the Coadjutorship of Paris to the Queen, which obligation was considerable enough to hinder me from entering into an union that might displease her. At this Montresor said, that I was in no manner obliged to the Queen, who had only followed the order which the late King had publicly given her, and that it was besides granted me at a time when the Queen could not be said to give any thing, because she refused nothing. To this I replied these very words: ‘ You must suffer me to forget all that might diminish my gratitude, and to remember only what may increase it.’ These words, which Goulas § (as he has since told me) reported to Cardinal Mazarin, were pleasing to him. He repeated them to the Queen the day that the Duke de Beaufort was put in prison. His being made a prisoner made a great noise, but produced not the effect which it ought to have done. And as this proved the beginning of the

* *Henry de Bourbon, second of the name, who died in the year 1646.*

† *Ann-Genevieve de Bourbon, daughter of Henry Prince of Condé.*

‡ *Mary de Bretagne, daughter of the Count de Vertus, and wife to the Duke de Montbazon, Governor of Paris.*

§ *Gaspard de Coligni, the fourth of that name; Duke of Chatillon; killed at Charenton near Paris, during the civil war in 1649; aged 29.*

§ *The Duke of Orleans's Secretary, who is said to have betrayed his master on a great many occasions.*

the minister's settlement, who is to act the most considerable part in the play which is to follow, it seems necessary, in my opinion, to speak a little more particularly of it.

You have already seen that the party which the Duke de Beaufort had formed in the court, consisted only of four or five melancholists, who looked as if they were hatching some mischief. That look of theirs either frightened the Cardinal, or gave him room to feign that he was frightened: there were reasons to doubt which of the two it was. What is certain is, that la Riviere, * who had already got a great ascendant over the Duke of Orleans, endeavoured to terrify the minister by advices of all sorts, that thereby he might get rid of Montresor, † who was a scare-crow to him. It is certain likewise that the Prince of Condé left nothing undone to put the Cardinal in a fright. His reason for it was the fear which he was in, that the Duke d'Enguyen, the present Prince of Condé, should expose himself by fighting the Duke of Beaufort, as he was near to have done in the quarrel between Madame de Longueville and Madam de Montbazou. This same interest having united the two houses of Orleans and of Condé, it was an easy matter for them to turn into ridicule the stateliness of the Duke of Beaufort's friends, which occasioned their being called the *Importants*. The two united houses made at the same time a very cunning use of the mighty shew, which the Duke of Beaufort (like all those that act more out of vanity than sense) affected to make on all occasions, even on the most trifling. Secret meetings were held, and rendezvous given without any manner of purpose. Even hunting had a mysterious air with that Duke and his cabal. In short, he acted so well, that he caused himself to be arrested at the Louvre, by Guitaut, Captain of the Queen's guards. The *Importants* were driven away and dispersed, and it was given out all the kingdom over, that they had formed an enterprize against the Cardinal's life. What has hindered me from believing it is, that I never saw any depositions about it, or any traces of it, though most of the do-

D 2

mestic

* Lewis Barbier, Abbot of la Riviere, a man of mean extraction, and whose principles were extremely depraved, was at that time the Duke of Orleans's favourite. He was very near being made a Cardinal, and he died Bishop and Duke of Langres in 1670.

† Montresor had been very much in the Duke of Orleans's confidence, and he hated mortally la Riviere, whom he represents in his *Memoirs* as the worst of men..

domestic servants of the house of Vendôme were kept in prison for a long while. Vaumorin and Ganseville, whom I have questioned a hundred times about it during the Fronde,* have always protested to me that nothing in the world was falser; one was the Duke of Beaufort's Captain of the guards; the other his Gentleman of the horse.

The Marquis de Nangis, Colonel of the regiment either of Navarre, or of Picardy (I do not precisely remember which) being incensed at the Queen and the Cardinal for a cause which I shall immediately tell you, was tempted five or six days before the Duke of Beaufort's imprisonment, to enter into the cabal of the Importants. But I dissuaded him from it, by telling him: 'That fashion, which has an influence in every thing, has never so great a one, as in being either in favour or out of favour at court. There are times (said I) when to be out of favour there, takes off any ill qualities, and sets off all the good ones. But there are times when it is not becoming a man of honour to be in disgrace.' I then affirmed to Nangis, that the cabal of the Importants went against the fashion on this occasion; and I mention this, that I may have an opportunity here of describing to you the state of things at the time of the late King's death. It is what I ought to have done before, but I have been carried away by the thread of my discourse.

It must be owned in praise of Cardinal Richlieu, that he had formed two designs almost as great, in my opinion, as any that ever came into the head either of Cæsar or of Alexander. That of bringing down the protestant party had been projected by the Cardinal de Retz, † my uncle; but that of attacking the formidable house of Austria, had not been thought of by any one before him. The first of them he brought to an end, and at his death, the second was very far advanced. The warlike parts of the Duke d'Enguyen, ‡ the present Prince of Condé, made the want of the like in the King to be no obstacle on this occasion. The famous victory at Rocroi || secured the state as much as it brought glory to the Duke, and that victory made the Duke's laurels environ

* A party so called, of which more hereafter.

† Henry de Gondi, created Cardinal by the name of Retz, in 1618.

‡ Lewis de Bourbon. Duke of Enguyen, who by the death of his father Henry, became Prince of Condé in 1646.

|| That battle was fought and won, upon the 19th of May, 1643, and five days after the death of Lewis XIII.

environ and cover the cradle of this present King, then an infant. Lewis XIII. who neither loved nor esteemed the Queen his wife, named a council when he died, in order to limit her power during her regency. Those whom he named for that purpose were, Cardinal Mazarin, Seguyer, * Bouthillier, † and Chavigni. They were all of them extremely odious to the people, because they all were the late Cardinal Richlieu's creatures, which made them be hissed at by all the footmen in the court of St. Germain's, as soon as the King was dead. It is certain that had the Duke of Beaufort had but common sense, or had not the Bishop of Beauvais proved a mitred ass; or had it pleased my father to appear upon the stage, and enter into business, those collaterals in the regency had infallibly been expelled with shame, and Cardinal Richlieu's memory had certainly been condemned by the Parliament, to the mighty joy of the public.

The Queen was adored, much more in consideration of her sufferings, than of her merit. She had been seen only under persecution; and persecution to persons in that high rank, stands them instead of an eminent virtue. People were willing to imagine that she had borne her sufferings with patience; the appearance of which, indolence often assumes. Whatever it was, it is certain that a great deal was expected from her regency; and Bautru ‡ was used to say, That she already worked miracles, because the most godly had already forgot her coquetries.

The Duke of Orleans made some shew of disputing the regency; and la Frette, who belonged to him, gave occasion to some jealousy, because an hour after the King died, he arrived at St. Germain's with two hundred gentlemen, whom he had brought from his own country. I engaged Nangis at that same instant, to offer the Queen his regiment, which was quartered but at Mantes. He caused it to march to St. Germain's, where the whole regiment of guards came also, and the King was brought to Paris. The Duke of Orleans contented himself with being made Lieutenant-general of the kingdom: the Prince of Condé was declared President of the council: the Parliament confirmed the regency to the Queen, but without any limitation: all the exiles were recalled: all prisoners set at liberty: all criminals pardoned; and every one

* Chancellor.

† Superintendant of the finances, and father to Chavigni.

‡ William de Bautru, Count de Serrant; a man famous for his witty repartees.

one restored to his former post. Every thing was granted, and nothing refused: among others, Madam de Beauvais obtained leave to build in the Palace-Royale; and I have forgot the name of one that got a warrant for a tax to be laid upon masses.

Every one's private happiness seemed to be fully settled by that of the public. The strict union of the royal family had assured tranquillity within the kingdom. The victory at Rocroi had destroyed for ages to come, the vigour of the Spanish infantry, and the German horse could not stand before the Weymarians. * There was seen next the throne, (from whence the fierce and formidable Richlieu had scourged, rather than governed the state) a gentle and mild successor, who desired nothing for himself, who was grieved at heart, that his rank of Cardinal did not suffer him to humble himself to every one as much as he could desire, and who appeared in the streets only with two footmen behind his coach. Was I not in the right, to say that it would not have become a man of honour to be in disgrace at court at that time; and did I not well, to dissuade Nangis from joining with the Duke of Beaufort, although, notwithstanding the service he had done at St. Germain's, he was the first to whom they refused a small gratification he had asked? I obtained it for him afterwards.

You will not wonder at the surprize in which people were, to see the Duke of Beaufort made a prisoner, at a time when all other prisoners, without exception, had been just set free. But no doubt, you will wonder that nobody saw the consequences of that imprisonment. The acting with that vigour, at a time when the power that was used was so gentle that it was hardly felt, had a very great effect. There was, it is true, nothing more easy, considering all the circumstances; but yet it appeared great, and whatever is such, is like to succeed, because there is something awful, and nothing odious in it. What often draws a sort of odium upon the actions of ministers, even upon the most necessary ones, is that in the doing of them they are most commonly obliged to surmount obstacles, the overcoming of which never fails to bring along with it envy and hatred. But when an occasion of note offers, wherein there is nothing to overcome, because there are no obstacles, (which happens very rarely) such an action

* The troops which after the death of Charles, Duke of Saxe-Weymar, so famous for his great actions in Germany, continued in the French pay.

action gives their power a lustre, bright, innocent, and pure, which not only secures it, but even makes it afterwards, almost as meritorious in them not to do harm, as to do good.

When people saw that Cardinal Mazarin had imprisoned that same man, who five or six weeks before had brought the King back to Paris, with a stateliness and pride that can hardly be conceived, every one's imagination was struck with respect and wonder; and I remember that Chapelain, * who, when all is done, was a man of sense, never grew weary of admiring that action. It was looked upon as a great favour from the minister, that he forbore imprisoning every week some body or other; and they imputed to his gentle temper, his want of opportunity to do ill. The truth is, that he seconded with a great deal of cunning, the luck he had. He omitted nothing that was necessary to make it believed that he had been forced to act as he had done, and that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé's counsels had prevailed with the Queen, notwithstanding his advice. The day that followed the imprisonment, he appeared still more moderate, more civil, and more open-hearted, than he used to do. Every body had free access to him, and was heard with all the ease possible: they dined at his table as at a private gentleman's, and he abated much of the state that is used, even among Cardinals that make the lowest figure. In short, he got over every body's head, at a time that every body imagined they walked by his side. What is more surprising is, that the princes and great lords of the kingdom, who, for their interest, ought to have been more clear-sighted than the vulgar, were the most blind of all. The Duke of Orleans thought that this example could not reach him: the Prince of Condé, whose covetousness kept him tied to the court, was willing to think the like. The Duke of Enguyen was of an age, that made him think that he might rest secure under the shade of his laurels. The Duke of Longueville † just opened his eyes, but only in order to shut them again; the Duke of Vendôme thought it happy for him to be only removed from court; the Duke of Nemours ‡ was but a boy; the

* John Chapelain, of the French Academy, and author of an heroic poem, called, *The Maid of Orleans*, which Boileau has so cruelly satirized.

† Henry of Orleans, 2d of the name, Duke de Longueville.

‡ Charles Amedee of Savoy, Duke de Nemours, killed in 1652, by the Duke de Beaufort, whose sister he had married.

the Duke of Guise, who was newly come back from Brussels, was governed by Madam de Pons, and fancied to himself that he governed the court. The Duke of Bouillon expected daily to have Sedan restored to him: Monsieur de Turenne was more than content to have the command of the army in Germany; and the Duke of Epernon * was overjoyed to have recovered his † government and his places. The Marechal of Schömberg kept ever close to those whom he saw uppermost at court, which the Marechal de Grammont ‡ was a perfect slave to. Messieurs de Retz, de Vitri, and de Bassompierre, fancied positively themselves in favour, because they were neither prisoners nor exiles. The Parliament being delivered from the yoke which Cardinal Richlieu had kept them under, hoped to see golden times under a minister who was every day telling them that the Queen would be governed only by their advice. The clergy, who are always foremost in shewing themselves friends to slavery, preached it to the people, under pretence of preaching obedience to them; and in this manner, every body found themselves in an instant become Mazarinians.

This plan, which I have been giving you, may perhaps seem to you of the longest. But you must consider that it contains the four first years of the regency; during which, the rapid motion given to the royal authority by Cardinal Richlieu, helped by the circumstances which I have mentioned, and by the continual advantages got over the enemies, maintained every thing in the state which I have been representing. There appeared in the third and fourth years, some small clouds of discontent between the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Enguyen, about trifles. Something likewise happened between this last and Cardinal Mazarin, about the place of Admiral, which the Duke had a pretence to by the death of the Duke de Brezé, § his brother-in-law. But I enter not into those particulars, because the face of affairs was not altered by them in the least; besides, you may find them in print in all the memoirs that speak of those times.

Two

* *Bernard de Nogaret, Duke de la Valette, and afterwards of Epernon, by the death of his father, the famous Duke of Epernon.*

† *Guyenne.*

‡ *Anthony, the third of that name, Duke of Grammont, Peer and Marechal of France.*

§ *The Duke of Enguyen was married in 1641, to this Duke de Brezé's sister, who was a niece of Cardinal Richlieu's.*

Two months after my consecration, my uncle went to Angers to spend the summer there, in an abbey he had, called St. Aubin, and charged me at his going, though much against his will, with the care of his diocese. The first function I discharged was the visitation of the nuns of the conception, which I was put to by the Queen's command. I knew that there were in that convent above eighty of those nuns, many of whom were handsome, and some were coquets, which made me very unwilling to expose my virtue with them. However there was no avoiding it; but I behaved myself in that affair in an edifying manner, because I did not see the face of one of them. I would never speak to them but with their veils down; and that conduct, which lasted six weeks, gave a mighty lustre to my chastity. *

I continued to do in the diocese all that my uncle's jealousy gave me leave to undertake without making him angry. But there being but few things that might not have angered one of his humour, I applied myself much more to gain by the people's esteem, by what I forbore to do than by what I did. Thus I found means to turn my uncle's jealousy to my advantage, because in this case I might safely shew my good intention in every thing; whereas had I been master, I could not in prudence have undertaken any thing but what I was able to perform.

Cardinal Mazarin owned to me a long while after, in the interval of one of those sorts of peace which we sometimes clapped up together, that the first cause of the umbrage he took at my power in Paris, was his observing the manner in which I acted on this occasion, though in regard to him I could mean no harm. He took umbrage at me on another occasion with as little cause. I undertook to examine the sufficiency of all the priests of the diocese, which certainly was a work more useful than can be conceived. I erected for that purpose three tribunals, composed of canons, of curates, and of monks. They were to reduce all the priests into three classes. The first was of those that had sufficiency,

D 5

and

* There are eight lines scratched out here in the French manuscript, and the twelve lines that follow, and which are printed in French, are not translated, having no manner of relation to what goes before, or to what follows, and being besides very imperfect in themselves.

and those were left to their ecclesiastical functions. The second was of those that had not a competent sufficiency, but that might attain to it. And the third was of those that wanted sufficiency, and could never supply that want. These two last classes were forbid all ecclesiastical functions, with this difference, that those of the second class were kept by themselves, and had masters to instruct them; whereas the third, who were likewise kept by themselves, were only taught to live piously. You may easily judge, that these settlements were immensely expensive; but I had considerable sums brought me from all parts, and there was not a pious man whose purse on this occasion was not opened with profuseness. The noise which this made displeased the Minister. He obliged the Queen to send for my uncle under a frivolous pretence; and my uncle was no sooner come, but he made use of a pretence still more frivolous, to forbid my going on with my design. Though I was well assured by my friend the Almoner, that this blow came from the court: I bore it with a great deal more patience than might have been expected from my natural vivacity. I took no manner of notice of it, and I lived with the Cardinal as I used to do. But it was not long before I acted, or at least spoke, in a less judicious manner on another occasion. For one day, that honest Monsieur de Morangis was telling me in the Prior of the Charter-house's cell, that my expences were too great, which was but too true, for indeed I spent beyond any measure; I answered him very inconsiderately: 'I have computed it well: Cæsar, at my years, owed six times more than I do.' These words, which in every respect were extremely foolish, were observed by a wretch of a doctor that was by, and reported to Monsieur Servien, * who told them the Cardinal with a malicious intent. The Cardinal laughed at the thing, and was in the right; but he took no notice of it, and in that was not to blame.

The assembly of the clergy was held in 1645. I was desired to be present at it as Diocesan, and this may be reckoned
as

* *Abel Servien, Marquis of Sable, secretary of state in Lewis the XIIIth's time. He left that post in 1636, upon a belief that Cardinal Richlieu did him ill offices. He was recalled in 1643, by the Queen-regent, and sent in 1647, jointly with the Duke de Longueville, and the Count d'Avaux, Plenipotentiary to Munster, and was made in 1653 Superintendant of the Finances.*

as the true occasion of my losing the little favour at Court which I was then in.

Cardinal Richlieu had given a cruel stroke to the dignity and liberties of the clergy in the assembly of Mantes, by banishing with very odious circumstances, six of its most considerable prelates. It was resolved in this assembly to make them some sort of reparation for it, or rather, in consideration of the courage which they had shewn, to give them some marks of respect, by inviting them to take their place in this assembly, though they had no deputation for it. This resolution, which had been generally agreed on in our private conferences, was, without any ill design, and in a free and open manner, made known to the assembly; and it came not into any body's head that the Court would so much as take any notice of it. It happened by chance, that when this was to be considered, the turn of the province of Paris coming on in course, I was obliged to speak first. I proposed the matter as it had been concerted amongst all of us, which was agreed to without any manner of dissent. At my coming home, I found the steward of the Queen's household, who brought an order for my attending immediately on her Majesty. I found her upon her bed in her little grey chamber. She told me in a very shrill tone, which was natural enough to her, that she had never thought that I had been capable of offending her to the degree I had just then done, in a matter wherein the memory of her late Lord the King was wounded. It was no difficult matter for me to put her to a nonplus in answering my reasons. She brought herself off, by commanding me to tell them the Cardinal; but I found that he understood them no better than she. He spoke to me with all the haughtiness possible; and without hearing what I had to say for myself, he commanded me, in the King's name, to make the next day a public recantation in the assembly of what I had proposed there. You may well think that it would have been a hard matter to have persuaded me to it. However, I fell into no manner of passion, neither did I behave myself disrespectfully. But finding that this submissive way gained nothing upon him, I resolved to go to the Archbishop of Arles, a wise and moderate prelate, to desire him to join with me in representing our reasons to his eminence. We went accordingly and spoke to him; and we both agreed, after we had left him, that no man in the world understood less than he did the constitution of our Gallican church. I do not well remember how that affair was made up, and I believe that you little care to know it.

What

What made me say so much about it, was only to let you see that I was not in the least to blame in this first contest I had with the Court, and that my deference for the Cardinal, out of the regard I had for the Queen, was carried as far as patience would go.

But that virtue was put to a greater trial still, three or four months after, on an occasion which his ignorance first supplied him with, and which his malice made him pursue with all the rancour possible.

The Bishop of Warmia, one of the ambassadors that were come to fetch the Queen * of Poland, took a fancy to celebrate himself the marriage in the church of Nôtre Dame. Now you must observe, that the Bishops and Archbishops of Paris have never yielded those sorts of functions in their own churches but to Cardinals of the Royal Family, and that my uncle had been blamed to the last degree by all his clergy, for suffering the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault to marry the Queen † of England. My uncle had left Paris just the eve of St. Dennis's Day; and was gone for the second time into Anjou. The next day, which was the festival of that Saint, Saintot, lieutenant of the ceremonies, brought me in the church of Nôtre Dame itself, a *lettre de cachet*, commanding me to prepare that church for the Bishop of Warmia, which was worded just as if it had been writ to the Prevost-des-Marchands ‡ when he is commanded to prepare the town-house for a public ball. I shewed the Dean and Chapter the letter, and told them at the same time, that I made no doubt but that this came from one of the secretaries of state's clerks, but that I would go to Fontainebleau the next day, the Court being there, to enquire into that mistake. The Dean and Prebendaries were much moved at this, and would fain have accompanied me to Fontainebleau, which I would not permit, but I promised to send for them if there was need. I went directly to the Cardinal, and offered him reasons and examples against it. I told him, that being in so particular a manner his humble servant, I hoped that he would oblige me

60

* *Louisa-Mary de Gonzague, daughter to Charles Duke of Nevers and of Rhetel, and afterwards Duke of Mantua in 1627. She was married in 1645 to Ladislas-Sigismund the 11th, King of Poland.*

† *Henriette-Mary of France, wife to Charles the 1st, King of England.*

‡ *A magistrate in Paris, something resembling the Lord-Mayor of London.*

so far as to represent all that I had said to the Queen ; and I omitted nothing that could have engaged him to do me that good office. It was on this occasion that I found that he affected to set me at variance with her Majesty ; for though I plainly perceived that my reasons had convinced him to a degree, that certainly made him sorry that he had given such an order before he knew the consequences of it, yet after some reflection, composing himself, he continued obstinate in his first resolution after a most extravagant manner. And when he heard me speak in the name of the Archbishop, and of all the clergy of Paris, he broke out into as great a passion as he could have done if a private man had of his own authority harangued him at the head of a troop of seditious men. I endeavoured to shew him in a respectful manner, what difference there was between that case and this ; but he was so ignorant of our customs and manners, that he took in a very wrong sense the little I ventured to say on this occasion. He left me in an abrupt and uncivil manner, and sent me back to the Queen. I found her both prepared and incensed ; so that all that I could get from her was, that she would give the Chapter audience, because I had declared, that I neither could, nor ought to do any thing in this matter but by their consent. At that same instant I sent for the Chapter. The Dean with sixteen Delegates arrived the next day. I carried them to the Queen ; they spoke to her, and did it with a great deal of discretion, and no less vigour. The Queen sent us back to the Cardinal ; who, to say the truth, spoke not one word to the purpose ; and understanding yet but very imperfectly the significancy of French words, told me at the end of his discourse, that I had spoke to him very *insolently* the day before. You may well imagine that I was shocked at this. But being before-hand, firmly resolved to keep cool and moderate ; I answered him only with a smile ; and turning myself to the delegates : ‘ Gentlemen, (said I) the word *is smart.*’ He grew angry at my smiling, and speaking with a loud voice : ‘ Who do you think (said he) that you are speaking to ? I shall teach you manners.’ I own I could hold out no longer. I replied to him, that I knew very well that I was the coadjutor of Paris speaking to Cardinal Mazarin ; but that to my thinking he took himself to be the Cardinal de Lorraine, who was speaking to the Suffragan-bishop of Metz. That expression, which in the heat I was in dropped from my mouth, pleased all that were present, who were a great many. I took the Dean and Delegates along with me to dinner, designing immediately after to

to return back to Paris. But whilst we were preparing to be gone, we saw the Marechal d'Estrées, who came to persuade me not to bring this matter to a breach, and to tell me that it might be still made up. But when he saw that that did not persuade me, he spoke more plainly, and owned that he was ordered by the Queen to engage me to go ~~her~~. I did not deliberate upon it, but went immediately to her with the Delegates. We found her pacified and in good humour, and so much altered from what she was, that it is not to be expressed. She told me in the presence of the Delegates, that she had sent for me, not concerning the matter in question, which it would be easy to accommodate, but to chide me for what I had said to poor Cardinal Mazarin, who was as meek as a lamb, and who loved me as his own son. To this she added all the kind usage possible; and at the end commanded the Dean and Delegates to take me along with them to the Cardinal's, and to consult there what was to be done. It was with some pain that I resolved to go; and I told the Queen that none in the world but her Majesty could have obliged me to it.

We found the minister still gentler than the mistress. He made me a thousand excuses about the word *insolently*. He told me (and that might be true) that he thought it meant no more than *insolito*. * He shewed me all the civility imaginable, but without concluding any thing. He deferred the matter till he came himself to Paris, which he forthwith designed to do. So we returned thither to wait his orders. Four or five days after, Saintot, lieutenant of the ceremonies, came to my house at midnight, and gave me a letter from my uncle the Archbishop, who commanded me not to oppose in any wise the Bishop of Warmia's pretensions, but to let him celebrate the Queen of Poland's marriage rites.

Had I been wise I had contented myself with what I had hitherto done, because it is always prudent to take hold of any means that are not dishonourable, to come off in any affair that one has with the Court. But I was young, and besides I was provoked; for it was plain that they had put a trick upon me at Fontainebleau, and that their kind usage there was but a blind to gain time, till they had sent to my uncle. However I kept my resentment hid from Saintot, and I seemed rather pleased that the Archbishop, my uncle, had helped me out of this trouble. But as soon as he was gone, I sent for the most considerable among the Chapter, whom I knew to be all at my disposal, and I declared my intention to them;

* In an unusual manner.

them; so that when Saintot came the next morning to get the Chapter assembled, that he might, as usual, deliver to them in a body, the *lettre de cachet* which he brought for them from the King, he was forced to go back to Court with this answer: 'That the Archbishop might dispose in the manner he pleased of the body of the church; but that the choir belonging to the Chapter, they would yield it only to their Archbishop or to his Coadjutor.' The Cardinal understood that cant, so he resolved to have the ceremony performed in the chapel belonging to the Palais-Royale, of which he pretended that the great Almoner was Bishop. This question being still of a greater importance than the other, I writ him a letter, to set before him what inconveniences were like to ensue. But he was piqued, and turned my letter into ridicule. I gave, on my part, the Queen of Poland notice, That if she was married in that sort, I should be forced against my will to declare her marriage void; but that there was an expedient to make it valid, though performed in that chapel, and that was, that the Bishop of Warmia should come to my house to have leave for it, from me in writing. The thing admitted of no delay, nor was there time to send afresh to my uncle. The Queen of Poland was unwilling to leave any thing doubtful in her marriage, and so the Court was obliged to yield, and to consent to my expedient.

You may well be tired, madam, with this long and dry account; but the small contests which I had at that time with the Court, having a great relation with the more important ones that happened afterwards, I think that for that reason it is necessary in some measure that I should mention them. I must therefore beg of you to have the patience to hear two or three more of the same nature, and then I design to enter into matters of greater importance, and more agreeable.

Some time after the Queen of Poland's marriage, the Duke of Orleans designing to come to Notre-Dame at evening prayers, upon Easter-Day, an officer of his guards having found my foot-carpet at its usual place, which was just below the Archbishop's seat, took it away, and put the Duke's in its room. I had immediately notice given me of it; but as the least shadow of competition with a son of France has a very ridiculous air, I replied, with some anger to those of the Chapter that would have had me mind it. The Divinity-Professor, who was a man of sense and learning, took me aside, and told me particulars about this matter, which I was ignorant of. He shewed me of what consequence it was, to distinguish, for any cause whatsoever, the Coadjutor from the Archbishop.

Archbishop. I was ashamed of my ignorance; and what I was told made me wait at the church-door for the Duke's coming, and there I acquainted him with all the particulars which I had but a moment before been acquainted with myself. The Duke took what I said well. He ordered his foot-carpet to be taken away, and mine to be put in its room, and I was censured before him. Prayers being done, I laughed at myself with him, and said, 'I should be much ashamed, Sir, for what has just now past, had I not been told for a certain truth, that the meanest of the White Fryars, who adored the day before yesterday the cross before your royal highness, did it without any shame or difficulty.' I knew that the Duke had been at their church, and had assisted at their office upon Good-Friday, and I knew besides, that every one that belongs to the church are the first which adore the cross. These words pleased the Duke, and he mentioned them at night at the circle, as a piece of politeness.

He went the next day to the Abbot de la Rivere at Petit-bourg, and the Abbot turned his head another way, making him believe that I had offered him a public affront; so that the very day that he came back from thence, he asked aloud of the Marechal d'Eltrées, who had passed the holy-days at Cœuvres, If his parson had disputed him the precedency. You see by this, what turn was given to the conversation. The courtiers began by ridiculing of me, and at the end the Duke swore, that he would make me go to Nôtre-Dame, and there be seated below him and be censured after him. The Duke de Rohan-Chabot,* who was present when this was said, came all in a fright to tell it me, and half an-hour after, I had a message from the Queen with a command to wait upon her. She at first told me that the Duke was extremely angry; that she was very sorry for it, but that he was the Duke of Orleans, and that of course she must side with him; that she would therefore absolutely have me make him a public reparation the next Sunday at Nôtre-Dame, in the manner he had designed it. I leave you to judge what my answer to her was. She according to custom referred me to the Cardinal, who at first told me that he interested himself very much in the pain he saw me in. He blamed la Riviere for his putting

* Henry Chabot, Duke of Rohan, by his marriage, in 1645, with Marguerita Dutcheffs of Rohan, daughter of Henry second of that name, Duke of Rohan, so famous in the civil wars in France about religion, in Lewis the XIIIth's time. We have his Memoirs, which are reckoned very good.

ting the Duke upon this, and he did what lay in his power, by an outward shew of gentleness and kindness, to bring me to the degradation that was intended. But finding that I did not bite at the hook, he changed his tone, and began to speak very high and magisterially. He said, that he had spoke to me as a friend, but that I forced him to speak now as a minister. He indirectly intermixed threatenings with his reflexions, and the conversation growing warm, he went so far as to affront me openly by saying, that those that affected acting as St. Ambrose did, should lead the same life he did. In saying this, he raised his voice on purpose that he might be heard by two or three prelates that were at the further end of the room. I took care likewise not to speak too softly in the answer I made him, which was in these words: 'I shall endeavour, Sir, to make a good use of the advice your eminence gives me; but I shall tell you that in the mean time my design is to imitate St. Ambrose on this present occasion, that I may obtain from God by his prayers, the grace of imitating him in the rest of his actions.' The conversation ended in this sharp manner, and so I left him.

The Marechal d'Estreés and the Duke de Senneterre, * came to my house after dinner, furnished with all manner of rhetorical figures to persuade me that what I called degradation, would prove honourable. But finding that they did not succeed that way, they insinuated that the Duke might come to violent means, and make me do forcibly by means of his guards, what I refused to do willingly. The thought seemed so ridiculous to me, that I took at first but little notice of it. But the same thing being told me in the evening by Mr. de Choisi, Chancellor to the Duke, I put myself on the defensive, and was in that extremely ridiculous. For it is easy to imagine how injudicious it was in me in every respect to take that course with a son of France, at a time that all was quiet, and that there was not the least appearance of a commotion. This action, in my thinking, is the most foolish I ever did in my life, and yet it succeeded well. My acting in this audacious manner pleased the Duke d'Enguyen, to whom I had the honour to be related. He hated the Abbot de la Riviere, who had been so insolent some days before, as to find fault with the preference given the Prince of Conti † in the nomination

* *Henry de St. NeElairé, second of the name, commonly called Senneterre, Duke of la Ferte Nabert, Peer and Marechal of France.*

† *Armand of Bourbon.*

nation to the Cardinalship. The Duke d'Enguyen was besides convinced that I had justice of my side, as it was certainly true, and as I had made it appear plainly in a pamphlet which I had published upon that account. He spoke upon that foot to the Cardinal, adding, that he would by no means suffer that any violence should be offered me; that I was his relation, and one that loved him, and that he would not go for the army till he saw that affair ended.

The court feared nothing in the world so much as a rupture between the Duke of Orleans and the Duke d'Enguyen; and the Prince of Condé, father to the last, feared it still more. He looked almost like one quite daunted, when he heard the Queen relate what his son had said. This made him come running to my house, where he found three or four score gentlemen, which made him believe that there was something a hatching between the Duke and me, in which he was altogether mistaken. He swore, he menaced, he caressed, he prayed, and in his passion he let fall some words, by which I gathered that the Duke interested himself in my affair, more than he had expressed to me. I did not balance to yield at that same instant, and I told the Prince that I would do any thing without exception, rather than suffer the royal family to fall out on my account. The Prince of Condé, who had before found me inflexible, was so touched to see me relent upon the account of the Duke his son, and precisely at the time that I had learnt from his own mouth that I might expect to be strongly protected by him, that that brought him to be more favourable to me. For instead of thinking, as he had done, that there was no satisfaction great enough for the Duke of Orleans, he now declared plainly for that which I had always offered, which was to tell the Duke before all the court, that it never came into my head to be wanting in the respect I owed him, and that what had obliged me to act as I had done at Nôtre-Dame, was the order of the church, which I came to give him an account of. This was executed just in that manner, to the great grief of Cardinal-Mazarin and of la Riviere. But the Prince of Condé had put them into such a fear of the Duke his son, that they were forced to yield. The Prince carried me to the Duke of Orleans, where all the court out of curiosity was present. I said no more to him, than precisely the words I just now mentioned. He approved of every thing I said, and he carried me to see his medals; and so ended an affair which was right in the bottom, but which I had like to have spoiled by my way of managing it.

As

As this contest, and that which I had about the Queen of Poland's marriage, made me stand but upon a very ill foot at court; you may judge what turn the courtiers were pleased to give to those actions. But I experienced on this occasion, that the greatest powers cannot hurt the reputation of a man that maintains his credit amongst his own body. All the learned men of the clergy declared for me, and in a very little time I found that even those that had blamed me, fancied that they had only pitied me. The like observation I have made on a thousand other occasions.

I even forced the court some time after to speak in my praise. The assembly of the clergy drew now near an end, and was just upon the point of considering about the gift that is usual to be made to the King. I was glad to shew the Queen, by the compliance I resolved to have for her on this occasion, that the resistance which my dignity had put me upon in the two preceding ones, did not come from a principle of ingratitude. I separated from the band of the zealots, at whose head was the Archbishop of Sens. I united with the Archbishop of Arles, and the Bishop of Châlons, whose zeal was as great, but was better qualified. I even waited, with the first of those prelates, on the Cardinal, who remained very well satisfied with me, and who said publicly, that he found me no less firm for the King's service, than for the honour of my character. I had the task laid upon me of haranguing the assembly, which is always done when it comes to an end. That speech is printed, and so it is needless to mention any particulars. The clergy approved of it, the court commended it, and the Cardinal at his coming from it, carried me to sup with him tête-à-tête. He seemed fully undeceived about the notions which some people would have had him have of me, and I really believe that he thought himself so. But I was too well with the Parisians to be long well with the minister. That was my crime with an Italian, who was a politician by book; and the danger to which that crime exposed me, was so much the greater, as I omitted nothing to aggravate it by the expence I made, which appeared natural and without affectation, and to which a kind of negligence gave even a greater lustre; by my charities that were great, and by my liberalities, of which the echo often resounded the more, the more I had taken care to conceal them. The truth is, that I was at first led into this manner of living by no other motive than by natural inclination, and the single view of my duty. The necessity of maintaining myself afterwards against the court, obliged me to continue to live in that manner, and even with

with more splendor. But we are not yet come to those particulars. What I have said here, is only to let you see that the court took umbrage at me, at a time when I had not so much as considered that I could occasion it. It is from that consideration, as well as from others, that you have sometimes heard me say, that one is oftener deceived by mistrusting people than by confiding in them. In fine, the foot I lived upon in Paris created in the minister's mind a new jealousy, which obliged him, after what he had already done against me, and after his being seemingly reconciled, to use me three months after as ill as before.

Cardinal Richlieu had deprived the Bishop of Leon of the house of Rieux, with formalities altogether injurious to the dignity and liberties of the Gallican church. The assembly of the clergy of 1645 undertook to restore him. The contest was great; Cardinal Mazarin, according to his custom, yielded, after having disputed long. He came to the assembly himself, to acquaint them that he consented that the Bishop should be restored; and upon passing his word that it should be done within three months, the assembly separated. I was named, whilst he was present, to solicit the necessary dispatches, because my stay at Paris might be the best relied on. The Cardinal gave afterwards all manner of demonstrations that he intended to keep faithfully his word; and he made me write two or three times to the provinces, that nothing was more to be relied on. When the thing came to a conclusion, he altered his mind of a sudden, and caused the Queen to press me to give that affair a turn, which had infallibly dishonoured me. I did all I could to bring him to himself, and I acted with a patience not to be expected from one of my age. But at a month's end, I found it exhausted, and I resolved to inform the several provinces of the whole proceeding, with that sincerity which my conscience and honour required of me. As I was upon the point of sealing my circular letters about that affair, the Duke de Enguyen came to my house, and after he had read one, he snatched it from me, saying, that he would put an end to that affair. He accordingly went at that same instant to the Cardinal: he convinced him of the ill consequences; and so I had my dispatches * - - - -

I think, I have already told you, that the first four years of the regency were in some sort carried along by the rapid motion that Cardinal Richlieu had given to the royal authority. Cardinal Mazarin, his disciple, and one besides born and educated

* *There are here five leaves torn out.*

educated in a country where the Pope's authority has no bounds, took that rapid motion to be the most natural, and that mistake of his was the occasion of the civil war. I say, that it was only the occasion of it; for, in my opinion, one must go much further back to find out its cause.

It is above 1200 years, since France has been governed by Kings: but those Kings have not always been so absolute as they now are. Their power, it is true, was never limited by written laws, as that of the Kings of England and of Arragon. It was only tempered by received customs, which at first were deposited in the hands of the three estates, and since that, in the hands of the Parliaments. The registering of treaties made with other crowns, and the verification of edicts for levying money on the people, are now images almost defaced of that wise medium which our forefathers had found between the over-stretching of the Prince's power, and the licentiousness of the people. That medium has been looked upon by wise and good Princes, as a seasoning to their power, extremely useful for making the people relish it the better. But it has been looked upon by unskilful and ill disposed Princes, as a bar to their excesses and to their caprices. The history we have of the Sire de Joinville, * shews us clearly that St. Lewis knew and esteemed that medium, and every one may be convinced by the works of Oresme, ‡ Bishop of Lizieux, and by those of the famous Juvenal-des-Ursins, † that Charles V. who is deservedly styled the Wise, never believed his power superior to the laws, or to his duty. Lewis XI. a Prince more crafty than wise, was guilty in that point, as well as in all others, of a breach of faith. ‡ Lewis XII. would have brought that medium again into credit, if the ambition of the Cardinal d'Amboise,

* *John Sire de Joinville, Seneschal of Champagne, lived in the time of Lewis IX. called St. Lewis, in 1260. He was one of the first lords of the court, and having accompanied St. Lewis in all his expeditions, he wrote the life of that King, which is much valued.*

‡ *Nicholas Oresme, Preceptor to Charles V.*

† *John Juvenal-des-Ursins, who after several employments in the magistracy, in which he grew beloved of, and powerful with the people, became a clergyman, and was made Bishop of Beauvais, and afterwards of Laon; and last of all, Archbishop of Rheims.*

‡ *Philip de Comines in his Memoirs describes to the life of Lewis XI.*

boise, * who governed that Prince in an absolute manner, had not opposed it. The insatiable avarice of the Connestable de Montmorency †, bent him more strongly upon extending the power of Francis I. than upon the keeping it within bounds. The vast and remote designs of those of the house of Guise did not permit them, under Francis II. to think of regulating that power. Under Charles IX. and Henry III. the court was so excessively tired with commotions, that whatever was not downright submission was accounted rebellion. Henry IV. who distrusted not the laws, because he confided in himself, shewed what esteem he had for them by his regard to the bold remonstrance of Miron, Provost-des-Marchands, about the town-house rents. The Duke de Rohan ‡ used to say that Lewis XIII. grew jealous of his power, for want of rightly knowing the nature of it. The Marechal de Ancre, § and the Duke de Luines, || were themselves too ignorant, to be able to inform him right. Cardinal Richlieu, who succeeded those ministers, made (if I may say so) a fund of all the ill intentions, and of all the errors of the two last ages, to make use of them as his interest required. He disguised them into maxims useful and necessary for establishing the royal authority, and fortune favouring his designs, by his disarming the protestant party in France, by the victories of the Swedes, by the weak state the empire was in, and by the incapacity of Spain, he formed in the most lawful of all monarchies, the most scandalous and most dangerous tyranny, that has perhaps ever enslaved a kingdom. Custom, which in some countries has made people not afraid of fire, has hardened us to things of which our forefathers were even more afraid than of fire itself. We are now easy under that slavery which they detested, more out of regard to their master's interest than to their own; and Cardinal Richlieu hath turned into crimes, those things which formerly were reckoned virtues. The Miron, the Harlays, the Marillacs, the Pibracs, and the Fayses; those martyrs of state, who dissipated more factions by their good and wholesome maxims than either the Spanish

* *George, Cardinal of Amboise, Prime Minister to King Lewis XII.*

† *Anne of Montmorency, Connestable of France.*

‡ *Henry, second of that name.*

§ *Concino Concini, killed in the Louvre in 1617.*

|| *Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luines, and Connestable of France.*

on English gold ever raised, have been the defenders of a doctrine, for the preservation of which, Cardinal Richlieu confined the President de Barillon to Amboise. He is the first who has punished magistrates for speaking those truths which they had sworn to maintain, even to the hazard of their lives.

Kings that have been wise, and that have known their true interest, have deposited their own ordinances in the hands of their Parliaments, with a view chiefly of discharging themselves of part of the envy and hatred which the execution of these ordinances, even of those that are the most necessary and the most sacred, must sometimes occasion. They have not thought it beneath them, to bind themselves to the observation of them: like, in that case, to God Almighty, who himself follows what he has decreed. Ministers, when blinded so far by their own interest, as not to be content with what the ordinances allow, think of nothing else but destroying them; and it is what Cardinal Richlieu has done more than any other, and with no less imprudence than application.

God alone is able to subsist, by his own power, kingdoms that have the best foundations; and Kings, whose power is the greatest, cannot subsist but by the union of laws, and of arms, and that union is so necessary, that the one is insignificant without the help of the other. Laws that are not supported by arms are quickly despised, and arms that are not tempered by laws turn quickly to anarchy. The Roman commonwealth being destroyed by Julius Cæsar, the power, which was by his arms devolved to his successors, lasted no longer than whilst they were able to keep the laws in authority. As soon as that authority was lost, that of the Emperors vanished away, by the very means of those who by being their favourites, got the power into their own hands, and converted to their own substance that of their masters, whom, they sucked (if I may use that expression) with impunity, there being no laws left to controul them. The Roman empire exposed to sale, and that of the Ottomans to the halter, are bloody signs of the blindness of those who would have authority to consist only in force.

But why do I go into foreign countries to find out examples, when we have so many of our own? Pepin and Capet made use (the first to dethrone the Merovingians, and the second, the Carlovingians) only of the same power which the ministers that preceded the one and the other, had acquired under the name of their masters. It is to be observed, that
the

the mayors of the palace, and the Counts of Paris, usurped their master's throne; exactly, by the same ways by which they had gained a power over their minds, that is, by altering and weakening of the national laws, which never fails to please at first, princes of little ability, because they think it a means to increase their power, though, in sequel of time, it serves for a pretence to the great, and for an inducement to the people, to rebel.

Cardinal Richlieu was too skilful not to have set all this before his eyes; but he sacrificed all to his ambition. He resolved to govern according to his inclination, which would admit of no restraints, even in things where they would not have hurt his designs. In short, he acted in a manner that had he had a successor of his merit, I do not know whether the name of First Minister, which he first assumed, had not become in a little time as odious in France, as by the event we know the names of Mayors of the palace, and of Counts of Paris have been. But Providence prevented it, at least in one sense; for Cardinal Mazarin, who succeeded him, could give the state no suspicion of his usurping the throne. These two ministers having contributed so much, though in a different manner, to the civil war, I think it is necessary that I should give you their characters, and compare them together.

Cardinal Richlieu was a gentleman of a good family. There were seen in him from his youth great signs of his future merit. He distinguished himself in the Sorbonne, and he discovered betimes a great strength and vivacity of mind. His determinations were commonly right. He was true to his word, except when some considerable interest induced him to the contrary, and then he did what in him lay to keep up the appearance of an upright man. He was not liberal, but he gave more than he promised, and he seasoned his gifts admirably well. He carried his love for glory a great deal further than morality allows of, but it must be owned, that though he gave way, even to excess, to his ambition, the ill use he made of it never went further than what he was able to support by his own merit. Neither his mind nor his heart were superior to danger, but neither sunk under it; though it is certain that he prevented more dangers by his prudence than he overcame by his courage. He was a good friend, and I may even say that he would have been glad to have gained the public love. But though he neither wanted civility, nor many other qualities fit for that purpose, he never had that *je ne sçai quoi*, more requisite in this case than any other.

other. His power and stateliness which appeared royal, eclipsed the Majesty of the Prince, but he discharged the royal functions with that dignity, that none but those that were above the vulgar could perceive in this point what was good and what was evil. Nobody in the world was better able than he to distinguish between what is ill and what is worse, what is good and what is better; which is a great qualification in a minister. He was too impatient in small matters, which are a prelude to greater; but that defect, which proceeds from the sublimity of the mind, is always followed with a clearness of understanding that makes amends for it. His stock of religion was sufficient for this world. He was led to do good, either by his own good sense, or by his inclination, whenever his interest did not lead him a contrary way, in which case he had a perfect knowledge of the ill he did. His regard for the state extended no farther than his life, though never minister took more pains to have it believed, that he had the future good of it in view. In fine, it must be owned that all his vices were of a nature easy to be made illustrious by a great fortune, because they could not be put to use but by the help of great virtues.

It is easy for you to judge, that a man endowed with these great parts, and even with the appearance of others which he really wanted, preserved in the world, without any great difficulty, that sort of respect which separates contempt from hatred, and which in a kingdom where the laws are extinguished, is able to supply their defect, at least for some time.

Cardinal Mazarin's character was quite the reverse. His extraction was mean and his childhood infamous. At his leaving the coliseum, * he learned to cheat, and was well cudgelled for it by one Moretto, a silversmith in Rome. He was a captain of foot in the Valtoline, and Bagni (who was his general in that war, which lasted but three months) has told me, that he was then reckoned no better than a sharper. He got to be Nuncio in extraordinary in France, by Cardinal Antonio Barberini's favour, which at that time was not to be obtained by any honest means. He pleased Chavigny by his lewd Italian tales, and by Chavigny's means he pleased Richlieu, who made him a Cardinal with the same view, as it was believed, that obliged Augustus to leave Tiberius to succeed him in the empire. He continued a servant under Richlieu, notwithstanding the purple he wore. The Queen

VOL. I.

E

having

* The coliseum was an amphitheatre at Rome, but here it must signify a college.

having made choice of him for want of another (which is the truth, let people say what they please) he appeared at first as the original of Prince Trapolin. Fortune having blinded him as well as all others, he sat up himself, and was set up by others, for a Richlieu; but he got no more by it than the impudence of attempting to be his ape, though what the first had thought honourable, this thought shameful. He turned religion into a jest. Nobody could be more prodigal of his promises, because he intended to break them all. He was neither gentle nor cruel, because he kept no remembrance either of benefits or of injuries. He loved himself too well, which is natural to cowardly souls. He respected himself too little, which is the character of those who have no value for their reputation. His fear made him foresee danger tolerably well, but his prudence being less than his fear, he could not prevent it to a like degree. He was a man that had wit, insinuation, pleasantry and manners; but the base heart appeared through all, and to that degree, that in his adversity it gave a ridiculous air to those qualities, which in his prosperity were not able to take from him the air of an impostor. He carried the tricks of a sharper into the ministry, which none besides him has ever done; and those tricks made his ministry, even when prosperous and absolute, to appear unbecoming, and brought contempt upon it, which is the worst symptom that can appear in a state, and of which the ill effects are the most easily communicated from the head to the rest of the body.

It is not difficult to imagine, from what I have said, that this last administration, which succeeded immediately to that of the Cardinal de Richlieu, but differed so much from it, could not but meet with many disappointments.

I have already set before your view the four first years of the regency, as they appeared outwardly; and I have likewise mentioned the effect which the Duke de Beaufort's imprisonment had at first upon people's minds. It is certain, that it imprinted a respect for the minister, which the purple he wore had not been able to do before. Ondedei, who has been since Bishop of Frejus, has told me, that on this occasion the Cardinal made a jest in his presence of the levity of the French nation; but at the same time he added, that four months after, the Cardinal held himself in admiration, and in his fancy thought himself equal, nay, superior to Richlieu. It would require volumes, should I relate all his blunders, the least of which were of an extreme importance, for a reason which deserves a particular observation.

Cardinal

Cardinal Richlieu, as I have before hinted, had given the last stroke that brought the ancient laws of the Kingdom to an end. Mazarin, who affected to be his ape, took the same way. This way was bordered with precipices on all sides, of which Cardinal Richlieu was not ignorant; but Mazarin did not make use of the supports with which the other had assured his march. An example will explain my meaning better, and that meaning is of a pretty large extent. Cardinal Richlieu had affected to depress societies, but not without shewing a special regard for the particular members of those bodies. I think that this is enough to let you into the rest. What is surprizing as to Mazarin is, that every thing helped to delude him. I must own however, that there were reasons natural enough for his delusion. You have already seen some in the disposition in which he found the affairs, as well as the several bodies, and the particular minds of people. But at the same time it must be owned, that that delusion was of a very extraordinary kind, and was carried to a great excess.

The greatest degree of delusion in a minister is to mistake a state of lethargy in a kingdom, for a state of rest, and even of health. The lethargy I mean, and into which France was fallen, is always preceded by ill and dangerous symptoms. The overthrowing of the ancient laws, the destroying those boundaries which they have placed between the King and the people, and the establishing arbitrary and absolute power, were the original symptoms of the convulsive fits, that our fathers have seen France labour under, and which preceded the lethargy I speak of. Cardinal Richlieu, like an empiric, made use of violent medicines, which by the struggles they occasioned made her appear outwardly strong and vigorous, but in the main helped to exhaust her. Cardinal Mazarin, who was a very unskilful physician, knew nothing of the weakness she was in; and instead of the chymical secrets with which the other tried to support her, he weakened her the more by evacuations, and was the cause of the lethargy she at last fell into, which his ignorance made him mistake for a state of rest, and even of health. The provinces, exposed as a prey to superintendants, after the several struggles they had made in Cardinal Richlieu's time, which had only served to increase and exasperate their evils, sunk at last under their loads, and remained in a state of drowiness. Parliaments, which were but just before groaning under the yoke, were in a manner grown insensible of their present miseries by the too quick sense they preserved still of those they had lately felt. The great men, who most of them had been banished the

E 2

kingdom,

kingdom, spent their time idly in their beds, which they had been overjoyed to come to again. Had that general drowsiness been well managed, it might perhaps have lasted longer : but the minister mistaking it for a gentle sleep, took no care about it. The disease grew worse ; the head awaked, Paris felt its ails, and groaned aloud ; these groans were not regarded, and this turned the disease into a phrenzy.—Let us come to particulars.

Emeri, superintendant of the finances, and in my opinion the most corrupt man of his age, wanted only specious titles to build his edicts upon. I cannot better describe the baseness of the man, and likewise his want of judgment, than by telling you what I myself have heard him say openly at the Council-Board : ‘ That honesty was fit only for merchants, * and that those masters of requests that alledged it as a reason in affairs that related to the King, deserved punishment.’ That man, who when young was sentenced at Lyons to be hanged, governed Cardinal Mazarin even with imperiousness, in all affairs within the kingdom. I made choice of this observation, amongst above a dozen of the like nature, to let you see, that the disease was come to its height, a sign of which is always when those that command have lost all shame, because from that moment those that obey lose all respect ; and it is at this time that the people recover of their lethargy by falling into convulsions.

The Switzers seemed in some sort smothered with the load of their chains, when the revolt of three of their chiefest cantons formed their leagues. * The Hollanders thought themselves quite subdued by the Duke of Alba, when the Prince of Orange, † by a fate reserved to great genius’s who can see before others the possibility of things, conceived and brought forth their liberty. These are examples, and the thing is founded upon reason. The cause of the drowsiness in people that are in a suffering state, is the continuance of the evil, which works upon their fancy, and makes them believe that it will never cease. But as soon as they find any room to hope, which always happens when the evil is come to a certain point, they are in such a surprize, such a joy, and such transports, that they are of a sudden carried to another extrem, and instead of looking upon revolutions as impossible, they become easy in their eyes ; and that disposition, without any other

* In the year 1307.

† William, the ninth of that name, who was killed in the year 1584.

other help, is sometimes able to bring those revolutions about. It is what we have experienced and felt in our last revolution: Whoever had said three months before the dawn of the troubles, that there could happen any in a kingdom where the royal family was perfectly united, where the Court was a slave to the minister, where the capital city and all the provinces were under his yoke, where the armies were victorious, and where the parliaments seemed altogether disabled; who should have said this, had passed for a mad-man, not only among the vulgar, but even among the d'Estrées * and the Senneterres. A little feeling, a faint glimmering, a spark of life, appear all of a sudden. * This first sign of life, hardly, perceivable in the beginning, did not proceed either from the Duke of Orleans, or from the Prince of Condé; it did not proceed from the prime men of the kingdom, nor from the provinces; it proceeded from the parliament, who till that day had never begun a revolution, and who had certainly put out severe arrests against this, had they not been themselves the authors of it. They murmured at the edict that established a Tarif, † and no sooner had they done that, but every body began to awake. At their awaking, they groped in the dark to find out the laws, but no laws were to be found. People began to be scared, and to call aloud for them; and in this agitation, the questions that arose from the explaining of them, from obscure which they were before, and made venerable by their being so, became doubtful, and from thence hateful to half of the people. Every one was thereby let into the sanctuary, and there they pulled off the veil that ought always to hide what may either be said or believed about the King's and the people's rights, which never agree better than by not being spoke of: and so it came that the palace-hall profaned these mysteries. I now come to particular facts, the detail of which will make the thing clearer.

I shall pick out, from an infinite number, but two of those facts, for fear of being tiresome, and because one of them hath occasioned the first wound, and the other has much exasperated it: as for other facts, I shall but just mention them.

The

* By what we read in the account of those times, both these Dukes were looked upon as the most accomplished courtiers, and the men of the greatest penetration.

† Or book of rates.

The parliament that hitherto had not opposed and had even verified a great number of edicts, destructive not only to private people, but to the public, could at last hold out no longer; and in the month of August, of the year 1647, began to exclaim at the edict that established a Tarif, whereby a general excise was laid upon all manner of provisions and wares that were brought into Paris. That edict had been verified above a year before in the court of aids, by virtue of which it had been put in execution, and that made the upper council * the more intent upon the maintaining it. Having had notice that the parliament was upon the point of forbidding the execution, or rather the continuance of it, they consented that it should be carried before that Court for their examination, hoping that they might elude, as they had done on so many other occasions, the resolutions of that company. But they found themselves mistaken: the measure was full; the minds of people were in a ferment, and all was tending to the rejecting of the edict. The Queen sent for the parliament: deputies from their body went to the Palais-Royal: there the chancellor asserted, that the verification belonged to the court of aids, but the first President contested it for the parliament. † Cardinal Mazarin, the most ignorant of all men

* The upper council is that wherein affairs of which the King will himself take cognizance, are treated of, and of which the arrests are, by the King's order, signed by one of the Secretaries of State. There is besides a council of state, of which the Chancellor is President. It is composed of twelve Counsellors in ordinary, and of twelve who serve their half-year by turns; of three Ecclesiastic Counsellors, and of three gentlemen of the sword; of the Comptroller-general of the finances, and of two Intendants of the finances. Affairs which are to be carried before the upper council, are examined and prepared here.

† The word parliament is a name given to several sovereign courts of judicature in France. There are nine parliaments besides that of Paris, which is however reckoned the first, not only upon account of its antiquity, but of many great privileges. The Dukes and Peers of France have a right to sit and vote in that court, which is therefore called the court of Peers, and it is in that court that the King holds his bed of justice, which is, when he assists in it upon solemn occasions, either by coming himself to the place where the court commonly sits, or by sending for the court to the place which he appoints.

men in those matters, said that he wondered that so considerable a body as the parliament should busy themselves about such trifles. I leave you to judge whether that word was taken notice of.

Emeri having proposed a private conference for finding out means to bring the matter to an accommodation, it was debated the next day in full parliament, whether or no there should be a conference. After a long and various debate, wherein many were for refusing it as needless and even capitious, the conference was granted. But it came to nothing, for they could not agree. The council upon this, fearing that the parliament

points. The Dukes and Peers, and other great officers of the crown, are sworn there, and are tried there when they are accused of any crime. No edict, ordinance, or declaration put out by the King, is of any force till it is verified and registered there. It is composed of eight chambers, (besides the court of requests) viz. the grand chamber, where causes are determined upon the bearing of advocates; five chambers of inquests, where pleadings in writing are examined and determined; and the two chambers of Tournelle, the civil, erected by Lewis XIV. and the criminal, in which affairs and crimes of lesser moment are examined and determined by a number of Presidents and Counsellors taken from the grand chamber and the chamber of inquests. There are likewise two chambers of requests of the palace, the Judges of which are called Masters of Requests, four of whom only have a right to sit and vote in the parliament. The grand chamber is composed of the first President, and of seven other Presidents a Mortier, and of twenty nine Counsellors (or Judges) viz. ten ecclesiastics, and nineteen lay. Each chamber of inquests is composed of two Presidents and twenty-eight Counsellors (or Judges.) The two chambers of Tournelle (as has been said) are composed of Presidents and Counsellors, taken from the other chambers. All these chambers act separately, except when they are all assembled together upon some extraordinary occasion, and then they are called the assembly of parliament. What is called the assembly of the chambers is, when the grand chamber calls together such of their members as make part of the two chambers of Tournelle, which is done when any criminal of note is to be tried. There is besides these a chamber called the chamber of vacations, which is composed of select members from all the chambers, established to judge of causes both civil and criminal during the vacations of the parliament.

parliament would give out an arrest to forbid the continuance of the edict, which the people had certainly taken hold of, put out themselves a declaration for suppressing it, that thereby the King's authority might be preserved, at least outwardly. Some days after the court sent to the Parliament five edicts, more burthensome than that of the Tarif was, not with any hope that they should be received there, but with a view of bringing back the parliament to accept of that first edict. That company came indeed back to it, and rejected the others; but in admitting the edict for the Tarif, they did it with so many limitations, that the court thought that it would not answer their purpose, and therefore being at Fontainebleau in the month of September, they issued out an arrest from the upper council, that annulled that of the parliament, and that sat up again the edict of the Tarif without any limitations. The chamber * of vacations answered this arrest by another, that ordered that of the parliament to be put in execution.

The council finding that they could levy no money that way, sent the parliament word, that since they were against new edicts, they ought at least to suffer those that had been verified formerly by their company, to be put in execution. Accordingly they renewed a declaration that had been registered two years before, for the establishing a chamber of the King's demesnes, which was excessively burthensome to the people, and of a worse consequence still than the edict was. The parliament had verified that declaration either out of fear, or by surprize. This brought the people to a mutiny. They went in bands to the Parliament, and there gave very ill language to the President de Thoré, who was son to Emeri. The parliament was obliged to put out severe arrests against the seditious; and the court, well pleased to set the parliament at variance with the people, sent some regiments of guards to support those arrests. This alarmed the people: they got up to the belfries of the three churches in St. Dennis's-street, where the guards were come. The Prevost des Marchands gives notice to the Queen, that the whole city is upon the point of taking up arms. The guards are ordered to withdraw, with an assurance to the Prevost des Marchands that they were sent only upon occasion of the King's coming in ceremony to Notre-Dame. Accordingly the King failed not to come thither the next day in great state, to cover the design, and the day after he

* The vacations of the parliament begin upon the 8th of September, from which time to the 28th of October, the chamber of vacation sits.

he came to the courts of Parliament, without notifying his coming but the night before, and that very late. He carried thither five or six edicts, every one more destructive than the other, and which were not till that moment communicated to the King's council. The first President * spoke very boldly against that way of bringing the King to the Parliament, in order to gain votes by surprize, and to take away the liberty of voting.

The very next day, the Masters of Requests, to whose number one of those edicts (which owed its verification to the King's presence) added twelve colleagues, assembled at the place where they hold their pleas, which is called the requests of the palace, and there they came to a firm resolution of opposing that addition of twelve members to their body. The Queen sends for them, and calls them a pretty set of men, to think of opposing the King's will; and that said, forbids them to assist any longer at the council † board. This roused them up, instead of frightening them. They came to the grand chamber, and there protested against the edict before-mentioned, and they had an act of their protestation granted them.

The chambers assembled the same day to examine the edicts which the King had caused to be verified whilst he was present there. The Queen thereupon orders deputies from their body to be sent to her, to whom the Lord Chancellor ‡ in her name said: 'That her Majesty was much surprized at their pretensions of revisiting what the King's presence had rendered sacred.' These were the very words the Chancellor used. The first President answered him, that such was the practice of the Parliament, which he justified by reasons founded upon the necessity of giving their votes in a free manner. The Queen seemed satisfied with what was alledged; but finding some days after, that their deliberations tended to give such limitations to those edicts, that they would thereby become almost insignificant, she ordered the King's council § in parliament,

E 5 to

* *Matthew Mole, Lord of Lassy and of Champlatreux, born in 1584, and died in 1656.*

† *There are constantly some of the Masters of Requests attending the council-board, to make their report of petitions referred to them.*

‡ *Peter Seguier, Duke de Villemor, Peer of France, &c.*

§ *Composed of the Attorney-general, (whose post and office has been before mentioned and explained) and of two Advocates-general,*

to forbid that company in her name to go on any further in their examinations, till they had publicly declared whether they intended to set bounds to the royal authority. Those of the company that were for the court, made use very dextrously of the disorders which this question occasioned, to bring the rest of the members to a better temper, by adding a clause to their arrest of limitation, that should submit it to the King's pleasure. That clause pleased the Queen for a moment; but being well informed that, after all most of the edicts would be rejected by a great majority, she fell into a passion, and declared to the parliament, that she would have all the edicts without exception to be fully executed, without any manner of limitation.

The Duke of Orleans carried the next day to the chamber of accounts the edicts that related to that chamber; and the Prince of Conti, in the absence of the Prince of Condé, who was already gone to the army, carried to the court of aids those that concerned them.

I have hitherto run over these matters, though necessary to this relation, with a mighty haste, that I might the sooner come to something much more important, and which exasperated all other matters, as I have hinted before. The chamber of accounts and the court of aids were neither of them satisfied with having given the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Conti a vigorous answer by their first presidents; but immediately after, the court of aids sent to the chamber of accounts to ask for an union with them for the reforming the state. The chamber of accounts agreed to it, and both together they got the grand council chamber to join with them. Those three bodies desired the conjunction of the parliament, which was joyfully granted, and immediately performed in one of the chambers of the Parliament, which is called the chamber of St. Lewis.

The truth is, that that union, which took for its pretext the reformation of the state, might very naturally be founded on the private interest of the members, one of these edicts being put out on purpose to retrench a considerable part of their allowance; and the court, which was surprized and troubled to the last degree at this arrest of union, thought fit to make use of this colour to discredit it in the people's minds.

In

general, one of whom opens the matters with which the Attorney-general is charged, either for the King, the public, the church, or minors.

In the mean while, the Queen sent the parliament word by the king's council, That hearing that the union was really made only in relation to the private concerns of the companies, and not for any reformation in the state, as at first people would make her believe; she found no fault with them as to that, because it is ever lawful for every one to represent their grievances to the King, though nobody is ever permitted to intermeddle in the government of the state. The parliament fell not into this snare, and being incensed at the arresting of Turcan and d'Argouges, two counsellors of the grand council, who by order of the ministers were taken forcibly away two nights before Whit Sunday; as likewise at the arresting of Lotin, Dreux, and Guerin, which was done immediately after, all their thoughts were now bent on justifying their proceeding, and on finding out precedents for their arrest of union. In examining the records, the President de Novion found out precedents, and they were upon the point of deliberating in what manner their arrest was to be executed, when Le Pleffis-guenegaut, secretary of state, came to their bar, and delivered to the King's council an arrest of the upper council, that annulled, even with abusive words, the arrest which the four companies had made about their union. The parliament, after deliberating, answered this arrest of the upper council no otherwise than by inviting, in a solemn manner, the three other companies to meet them the next day by their deputies, at two in the afternoon, in the chamber of St. Lewis.

The court, extremely incensed at this proceeding, thought on an expedient of the lowest and most ridiculous sort, which was to get into their own hands the minutes of this last resolution. Du Tillet, the chief register, being asked for them, and saying that they were in the under register's hands, this last was clapped into a coach by Le Pleffis-guenegaut, and Carnavalet, lieutenant of the life guards, and carried to the registry to look for them. This was perceived by the people, who rose up in arms, and it was well for the secretary of state and the officer that they could escape. At seven in the morning the next day, the parliament was ordered to come to the Queen, and to bring with them the said minutes, whereby the three other companies were invited to meet in the chamber of St. Lewis. Being arrived, Mr. le Tellier* asked the first President whether he had the minutes, who answered him that

* *Michael le Tellier, Secretary of State at that time, and since made Chancellor, by Lewis XIV. He was father to the Marquis de Louvois, and died in 1685, aged 83.*

that he had not, and would tell the Queen the reason why. The upper council debated upon this, and disagreed in their opinions. It is said that the Queen was pretty much inclined to keep the parliament prisoners, but nobody sided with her in that point, which indeed was impracticable, considering the disposition the people was in. They came therefore to more moderate measures. The Chancellor reprimanded the parliament very severely in the presence of the King and all the court, and at the same time a new order of the upper council was read to them, for the annulling the parliament's last resolution, and for forbidding the assemblies of the four companies upon pain of being declared rebels; commanding them at the same time to have this order of council inserted in their record-book, in the room of their arrest for an union.

This happened in the morning, and that very afternoon the deputies of the four companies met in St. Lewis's chamber, which shewed the utmost contempt for the upper council's order. The parliament likewise assembled at their usual time to deliberate upon what was to be done in relation to the said order that had annulled their own arrest of union, and had forbid the continuance of their assemblies. I desire that you would observe that their deliberation upon this point was an actual disobedience, because they were expressly forbid to deliberate at all. Every body being willing to deliver their opinion in the most solemn manner, in a matter of that importance, some days were spent before they could put an end to their deliberation, which gave time to the Duke of Orleans, who foresaw that the parliament would infallibly disobey, to propose an accommodation.

The Presidents à Mortier, and the eldest Counsellor of the grand chamber, met Cardinal Mazarin and the Chancellor at the Palace of Orleans. Some proposals were there made, which were reported to the parliament, and rejected there with so much the greater indignation, that by the first of those proposals which related to the * annual duty, the companies had granted to them all that they could have wished in relation to themselves and their private interest. The parliament affected to shew that they had nothing in view but the public good, and they put out at last an arrest, whereby it was enacted that the companies should remain assembled, and that the King
should

* *Otherwise Paulette, from the name of its inventor. This duty is paid once a year by those who have any employments, in order to preserve them for their heirs; in default of which payment they return into the King's disposal.*

should be applied to in a most humble manner, to ask of him the repealing of the order issued by the upper council.

The King's council went to the Queen in the evening, to demand an audience for the parliament, and that company was sent for the next day by a *Lettre de Cachet*. * The first President spoke with a great deal of vigour. He insisted upon the necessity of keeping unshaken the medium that stands between the King and the people. He made good, by famous and illustrious examples, the right enjoyed by the companies for so long a time, of uniting and of assembling. He complained boldly of the annulling of their arrest of union, and concluded by demanding in a strong and resolute manner the suppression of what had been enacted to the contrary by the upper council. The court, much more concerned at the disposition of the people than at the parliament's remonstrances, submitted of a sudden, and sent word by the King's council to the company, that the King gave them leave to put their arrest of union in execution, and accordingly to assemble, and do, jointly with the other companies, what they all thought proper for the good of the state.

Judge how dejected the ministry was; but I am sure that you will not judge of it as the vulgar did, for they thought that Cardinal Mazarin had by his weakness on this occasion given the last stroke to the royal authority. It is certain that he could not in this conjuncture do otherwise than he did. But at the same time, what was not an effect of his weakness must be attributed to his imprudence. Nothing can excuse him for not foreseeing, nor preventing his falling into circumstances, the consequences of which must always be the committing new errors. I have observed, that nobody ever comes to this state, which of all others is the most wretched, but by their own fault, and that fortune has nothing to do with it. The reason of this is not known to me, though I have done what I could to find it out; but examples make it plain. Had Cardinal Mazarin attempted to stand his ground on this occasion, he had certainly brought the matter to a mutiny, and had gained nothing by it but the name of a rash and mad man. But he thought fit not to swim against the stream; and I have known few but what believed it an effect of his weakness. The truth is, that it brought him into much contempt, and though he tried to appease the minds of people by banishing Emery, from whom he took away the superintendancy

* *A Lettre de Cachet is an order from the King, sealed with his privy signet, and subscribed by a Secretary of State.*

intendancy of the finances, he could not dissuade the parliament from the opinion they had of their own power, and of the want of power in the court; nor hinder them from using all the means they could to throw off the yoke of the favourite, and to destroy the credit he had.

They made in the chamber of St. Lewis seven proposals, the mildest of which tended to that end. The first on which the parliament deliberated was the revocation of the intendants. The court, which this touched in the most sensible part, obliged the Duke of Orleans to go up to them, and shew them what consequences this would bring along with it. He therefore was to desire them to suspend the execution of their arrest for three months only, in which time he had proposals to make of great advantage to the public. They gave but three days delay, upon condition that nothing of it should be registered, and that they should immediately have a conference about it. Accordingly the deputies of the four companies came to the palace of Orleans. The Chancellor insisted much on the necessity of preserving the intendants * in the provinces, and on the inconveniency of bringing to trial (as the arrest ordered it) those that were guilty of any misdemeanour, because the farmers of the King's revenues must infallibly be included in those trials, and that would ruin the King's affairs, by occasioning those that had supported them by their advances and their credit, to become bankrupts. But finding that this did not move the deputies, the Chancellor's last shift was to desire that the intendants might not be removed by an arrest of the parliament, but by the King's declaration, that at least the people might owe their relief to his Majesty. The deputies consented with difficulty to this proposal, which was carried however by a majority of voices. But when the King's declaration was brought into parliament to be verified, it was found defective, because though it indeed revoked the intendants, yet it said nothing of bringing the delinquents to account.

The Duke of Orleans having carried it to the parliament, where he could not get it passed, the court thought of an expedient, which was to send thither another declaration for the establishing a Chamber of Justice for the trial of the delinquents. It was easy for the company to perceive that such a
Chamber

* These intendants or commissioners are twenty-four in number, and each of them being appointed to inspect into and determine matters relating to the King's revenues, within a particular district, which is called a Generality.

Chamber of Justice, the members of which, as well as the proceedings, would always be at the disposal of the Ministry, was intended only for taking away the public robbers out of the parliament's hands. This declaration however was carried by a majority, and the Duke of Orleans, who was present, got another to be verified that same day, which released the people of the eighth part of the Taille, * though the parliament had been promised that they should be eased of the fourth part.

The Duke of Orleans came again to the parliament some days after, to bring thither a third declaration, whereby the King ordered, that no more money should for the future be levied on the people, but by virtue of declarations verified in parliament. Nothing appeared more plausible; but the company knew that the design was only to amuse them; and to validate all past proceedings, and all the declarations or edicts that had not been yet verified. This obliged them to add a clause to this last declaration, which was to forbid the levying any money by virtue of any past edicts not verified by the parliament. The Minister, mad to find how unsuccessful his artifices and efforts had proved, whereby he hoped to have sown jealousies among the four companies, and being terrified at a proposal which the parliament was upon the point of setting upon, that went to the annulling all loans made to the King that carried an exorbitant interest; the Minister, I say, exasperated with sorrow and rage, and spurred on by all the courtiers, who had put almost all that they were worth into those loans, resolved to make use of an expedient which he thought would finish all, but which proved as ineffectual as the rest. He got the King to go on horseback to the parliament, in mighty pomp, and to carry thither a declaration filled up with all the fine words possible, and with some clauses tending to the public good, but with many others very obscure and ambiguous. The mistrust which the people had for every step that the court took, was the cause that the King's entry had neither the applause, nor even the huzzas used on the like occasions. What followed after was not attended with greater success. The parliament began to examine the very next day that declaration, and to censure it almost in every point, but chiefly in that which forbade the four companies to continue their assemblies in the chamber of St. Lewis. It had
no

* A tax which in some parts of France is laid on the person, in others on the lands, and from which only the nobility, the clergy, and officers of the crown, are exempt.

no better success in the Chamber of Accounts, nor in the Court of Aids; the first presidents of these chambers having expressed on this occasion a great deal of vigour in the speeches they made to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Prince of Conti. The first of those Princes came for several days together to the parliament, to exhort them not to hurt in anywise the declaration. He threatened, he intreated, and at last, after incredible attempts, he obtained that they should adjourn their deliberations to the 17th of that month; after which they were to reassume and continue them without intermission, as well upon the declaration as upon the proposals made in St. Lewis's Chamber by the deputies of the four companies. They failed not to do so; every article was examined one after another, and the company's arrest concerning the third was a killing stroke to the court. The import of it was, that for the rectifying the declaration, it was decreed, that all levies of money ordered by virtue of declarations not verified should not take effect. The Duke of Orleans went again to the parliament to oblige them to soften that clause, but he could obtain nothing. Whereupon the court resolved to carry things to extreams, and to make use of the splendor which the victory obtained at Lens * just at that time gave to affairs, to dazzle the people, and to oblige them to give their consent to the oppression of the parliament.

You have here but a very slight sketch of a very dark and ugly picture, wherein you have seen as in a cloud and in little, figures so different from one another, with the odd postures of the chiefest bodies of the state. What you are slow to see will appear more lively to your eyes; factions and intrigues will help to set off the colouring.

The news of the Prince of Condé's victory at Lens came to court the 24th of August 1648, Châtillon † brought it, and a quarter of an hour after he had left the Palais-Royal, he told me that Cardinal Mazarin had shewed much less joy at the victory than trouble, because part of the Spanish horse had escaped up. I desire you would observe, that the Cardinal said this to one entirely devoted to the Prince of Condé, and speaking of one of the finest actions that was ever performed in war. It is printed in so many places, that it would be needless.

* A small town in the county of Artois, near which the Prince of Conde obtained a great Victory over the Spaniards, in 1648.

† Gaspard de Coligny, the fourth of the name, who was killed in the year 1649, aged 29.

less for me to mention any particulars. I cannot however help saying, that the battle being in a manner lost, the Prince renewed it, and won it by a cast of that eagle's eye, which you know him to have, and which makes him perceive every thing on those occasions, and be dazzled at nothing.

The same day in which the news of this victory was brought to Paris, I met Chavigny at the Hôtel de Lesdiguières, who, speaking of it, asked me, whether I would not lay a wager that the Cardinal would be simple enough to miss this opportunity of recovering his spirit and authority? These were his words. They made an impression upon me, because knowing, as I did, the violent temper and maxims of Chavigny, and that besides he had taken a great disgust at the Cardinal, who indeed had proved most ungrateful to him that was his benefactor, I made no doubt but that he would be very ready to exasperate matters by his ill council. I acquainted the Duke de Lesdiguières with it, telling him further, that I was that moment going to the Palais-Royal to continue what I had begun there. It is necessary for the understanding of these last words, that I should give you an account of some particulars that relate to my own conduct.

In the course of this year, so full of agitation, I felt a commotion within myself, which was known but to few persons. The whole state was in such a ferment, by the heat of Paris (which may be looked upon as the head of it) that knowing the unskilfulness of the Physician, I judged that he would not prevent the fever, which must otherwise necessarily follow. I could not be ignorant of my being upon very ill terms with the Cardinal. I saw a list opened for entering into, and acting great matters, and matters, the ideas of which had, from my infancy, struck deep into my mind. My imagination brought now before me the possibility of the means for bringing these matters to pass. My reason did not disapprove of them, and yet I found a disagreement in my heart, which I often checked myself for. But after I had examined the thing thoroughly. I thanked myself for that disagreement, which I found to proceed only from a good principle.

The Coadjutorship had been given me by the Queen. I knew not how to lessen that obligation by considering of the circumstances. I therefore thought myself obliged to sacrifice my resentment, and even the reputation I was like to gain, to my gratitude. All the instances which Montresor and Laigues could make to the contrary, prevailed not with me. I resolved to keep myself wholly tied to my duty, and not to join in any thing that was either said or done at that time
against

against the court. Montrefor had all his life-time been brought up in the Duke of Orleans's factions, and he was the more dangerous in advising great things, as he had them much more in his head than at his heart. Persons of that character will advise every thing, because they themselves execute nothing. Laigues was a man of little sense, but he was extremely brave, and no less presumptuous; and persons of this character dare do any thing which those in whom they confide can persuade them to. This last, who was entirely in the hands of Montrefor, took the matter at heart, which always happens to those of his humour when once they are persuaded; so these two together gave me not one day's rest to make me see, as they imagined, what without vanity I had seen six months and more before them.

I stood firm to my resolution; but as I was not ignorant that innocence and uprightness would hurt me near as much at court as the contrary would do, I resolved at the same time to provide against the evil intentions of the Minister. In order to it, my precaution, as to the court, was to act there with as much zeal and sincerity, as openness and freedom. In the city my care was to keep fair with all my friends, and to omit nothing that I thought necessary to win, or rather preserve, the love of the people. I cannot better express what I did as to this last, than by telling you, that from the 28th of March to the 25th of August, I spent thirty-six thousand crowns in charities and in liberalities. At court I thought I could not go on better with my design, than by telling the Queen and the Cardinal the true disposition I knew Paris to be in, which the flattery of others and their own prepossession hindered them from seeing into. A third journey of my uncle's into Anjou made me again at this juncture perform the functions of Archbishop, and I took hold of this occasion to tell both the Queen and the Cardinal, that I thought myself obliged to give them a faithful account of what I knew. They received my offer with contempt enough, but at my giving them that sincere account, they both heard me with much anger. After some days the Cardinal seemed appeased; but it was but outwardly, and under his dissembling he still preserved the same anger. I discovered his craft, and countermined it. For finding that he made no other use of the advices I gave him, but to insinuate to the world that I was so intimate with him as to tell him all that I could discover, even to the prejudice of others, I from that time told him nothing but what I repeated publicly at my own table. I even complained to the Queen of the Cardinal's artifices, of which I convinced her
by

by two very particular circumstances. In that manner, without discontinuing what the post in which I was, obliged me to do for the King's service, I made use of the same advices which I gave to the court, to let the parliament see that I did all that I could to give light to the Ministers, and to dissipate the cloud which the interest of the subalterns, and the flattery of the courtiers never fail to raise.

The Cardinal perceiving that I had turned his own weapon against him, ceased keeping almost any measures with me. I remember one day, amongst others, that I was telling the Queen before him, that people's minds were in such a heat, that nothing but fair means would now do with them. To which the Cardinal answered no otherwise than by an Italian apologue, importing, that in *Æsop's* days, a wolf swore a great oath, that he would protect a flock of sheep against all other wolves, provided one of the sheep came every morning to lick a wound he had received from a dog. This is one of the gentlest sayings with which he favoured me in three or four months time: and that inticed me, one day that I was coming out of the Palace, to communicate to the Mareschal de Villeroy * two reflections I had made. The one was, that it is more unbecoming a Minister to speak foolishly, than act foolishly; and the other, that advices, when they come from a man out of favour, are looked upon as crimes.

This is the state in which I was at court when I left the Duke de Lesdiguières, in order to prevent as much as I could the ill effects which the victory at Lens, and the observation I had heard Chavigny make, gave me room to fear. I found the Queen transported with joy to a great excess: the Cardinal appeared to be in a more moderate temper. Both of them affected an extraordinary gentleness, and the Cardinal particularly told me, that he would make use of the present occasion, to convince the parliament that he was far from entertaining the revengeful thoughts of which he was accused, and that in a few days he would make every body confess, that the advantages obtained by the King's armies had rather abated than heightened the court's resentment. I own that I was imposed upon by these words. I believed them, and rejoiced at them. I preached the next day at the Jesuits, in their church of St. Lewis, before the King and Queen. The Cardinal, who was present, thanked me after the sermon was done, for that in explaining to the King St. Lewis's will (it was that Saint's

* *Nicolas de Neufville, Governor to Lewis XIV. who died in 1685.*

Saint's-day) I had recommended to his Majesty, according to the import of the will, the care of his great cities. You shall now see how sincerely the Cardinal spoke.

The day after the festival, that is on the 26th of August, 1648, the King went to Nôtre-Dame, to hear Te Deum. The streets from the Palais-Royal to the Cathedral were lined on both sides with soldiers of the regiment of guards. After the King was gone back to the Palais-Royal, they made three battalions of those soldiers, which were posted upon the Pont-neuf, and at the Place-Dauphine. Cominges, Lieutenant of the Queen's Guards, seized forcibly on Broussel, Counsellor of the Great Chamber, and carried him away in a coach to St. Germain. Blancmesnil, * president of the Inquests, was likewise taken up at his own house just at that time, and carried to the castle of Vincennes. You will be surprized at the choice they had made of this last gentleman; and you would be no less so about Broussel, if you had known him. I shall explain in another place what I mean by this. But I am not able to express the consternation Paris was in for the first quarter of an hour after Broussel was carried away, nor the commotion it was in a quarter of an hour after. Sadness at first, or rather dejection, seized every one, and even children. People stared on one another without opening their mouths. But of a sudden they began to stir, they ran, they roared, and all the shops were shut up. I had notice given to me of this, and though I was not without resentment for the manner in which I had been plaid upon the day before at the Palais-Royal, where I was even desired to tell my friends in the parliament, that the effects which the victory at Lens had produced at court, were no others but thoughts of mildness and moderation; I resolved however without any hesitation to go to the Queen, and to stick to my duty preferably to all things. This was the expression I used, speaking to Chapelaine, to Gomberville, and to Plot, a Canon of Nôtre-Dame, who is now a Carthusian, who had all three dined with me. I went out in my pontifical habits, and I had hardly reached so far as to the Marchéneuf, before I was overwhelmed by a multitude of people, that made a noise more resembling that of howling than any other. I got off from them by saying, that the Queen would do them justice. I met upon the Pont-neuf the Mareschal de la Meilleraie at the head of the Guards, who seemed much confounded, though he saw against him none but children, who gave the soldiers abusive language, and
flung

* *Rene Potier, nephew to the Bishop of Beauvais.*

flung stones at them. But he saw another kind of storm that was gathering on all parts. He was mighty glad to see me, and desired me by all means to tell the Queen the whole truth, offering to come along with me to testify it. I was extremely pleased at his proposal, and so we went to the Palais-Royal, followed by an infinite number of people, crying aloud Broussel, Broussel. We found the Queen in the great closet, and with her the Duke of Orleans, Cardinal Mazarin, the Duke de Longueville, the Marechal de Villeroi, the Abbot de la Riviere, Bautru, Guitaut, Captain of the Guards, and Nogent. She received me neither well nor ill. She was too haughty and too much incensed to be ashamed of what she had told me the day before, and the Cardinal had not honour enough in him to be ashamed of any thing. He appeared however somewhat embarrassed, and began a discourse without head or tail, whereby (though not daring to explain himself) he seemed desirous that I should believe that there had been new reasons to oblige the Queen to act in the manner she had done. I feigned to believe every word that he said, and I told him, that my coming thither proceeded only from my duty; that I was ready to receive the Queen's commands, and to contribute what lay in my power towards the public rest and tranquillity. The Queen seemed to thank me by a small nod with her head; but I was told afterwards that she had observed, and observed to my disadvantage, the last words I spoke, though there was nothing in them but what was well meant, and well becoming a Coadjutor of Paris. But the saying is true, that *with Princes it is as dangerous and almost as criminal, to have the power to do good, as to have the will to do evil.* The Marechal de la Meilleraie, who saw la Riviere, Bautru, and Nogent, make nothing of the commotion, and even ridicule it, grew very angry. He spoke with vigour, and left it to me to tell what I knew. I did it with a great deal of freedom, and I confirmed what he had said and foretold about the commotion. The Cardinal gave a malicious smile, and the Queen grew angry. She, with her shrill and angry tone, spoke these very words: 'There is a sort of revolt in imagining that the people dare revolt: these are the ridiculous tales of those that would have it so: but the King, by his authority, shall take a course for it.' The Cardinal, who observed by my countenance that I was somewhat moved at what the Queen said, answered her in a soft tone: 'Would to God, Madam, that every body spoke as sincerely as the Coadjutor! He is in fear for his flock: he is in fear for the city: he is in fear for your Majesty's authority.'

‘ authority. I am persuaded that the danger is not come to the point he imagines, but his doubts upon it are in him a ‘ laudable zeal.’ The Queen, who understood the Cardinal’s cant, came to herself of a sudden. She began to make use of civilier means, and even to make me some sort of excuse. I answered her with a profound respect, and with so simple an air, that la Riviere whispered Bautru in the ear, as I had it from this last four days after : ‘ See what it is, not to be here ‘ night and day ! The Coadjutor is a man of wit, and understands the world, and yet he takes for true what the Queen ‘ tells him.’ It is certain that all that were in the closet acted with a vizard on. I affected to appear simple, and I was not so, at least in this point. The Cardinal tried to appear stouter than he truly was. There were instants wherein the Queen affected to appear mild, and she in her life was never less so. The Duke de Longueville seemed sad, though he felt an inward joy, for he was the man in the world that loved best the beginning of all commotions. The Duke of Orleans counterfeited the busy and the angry man speaking to the Queen, and I never heard him whistle more indolently than he did for half an hour together, being with Guerchi, a Maid of Honour, in the Queen’s little grey chamber. The Marechal of Villeroy appeared gay, to make his court to the minister, whilst in private he was owning to me with tears in his eyes, that the state was upon the brink of ruin. Bautru and Nogent plaid the buffoons, and, to please the Queen, mimicked old Broussel’s nurse, (note, I pray you, that Broussel was eighty years old,) as if she was inciting the people to a revolt ; and this farce they acted, though both of them knew very well that the tragedy would soon follow. The Abbot de la Riviere was the only man that really thought the commotion was nothing. He affirmed it to the Queen, who would willingly have believed it, though she had been persuaded of the contrary ; and I observed at the same instant, both by the disposition of the Queen, who was the person in the World the most fearless, and by that of la Riviere, who was the most signalized coward of the age : *That a blind rashness, and an excessive fear, cause the same effects when the danger is not known.* That no sort of actor might be wanting on our theatre, the Marechal de la Meilleraie, who jointly with me had hitherto been steady in representing of what consequence the tumult was, became of a sudden the bully or Hector of the play. He altered his tone and his opinion, when he heard old Vannes (who was lieutenant-colonel of the guards) acquaint the Queen that those of the city threatened to force the King’s guards.

The

The Marechal, who was a perfect mixture of choler and ill-timed resolutions, fell at this into a transport of anger or rather of rage. He began to say aloud, that it was better to die than to bear such an insolence; and he pressed earnestly for leave to take with him the guards, the officers of the household, and all the courtiers that were in the anti-chambers, giving his word that he would crush that rascally mob. The Queen agreed blindfold to what he proposed, but nobody else approved of it; and you shall see by the event that nothing could have been imagined more contrary to right reason. The Chancellor came into the closet at that instant. He was naturally so weak a man, that till that time he never had the courage to speak the truth there. But on this occasion his complaisance yielded to his fear. He spoke, and did it as the objects which he had perceived in the streets, moved him to speak. I observed that the Cardinal seemed much concerned, to hear a man speak with a freedom which he durst never recover before. But Senneferre, who came in much about this time, removed immediately these first impressions, by assuring, that the heat of the people began to abate, that nobody took up arms, and that, with a little patience, all would go well.

Nothing is more dangerous than flattery, in conjunctures when he that is flattered may be capable of feat. The desire he has of removing that fear from him, makes him reject all the measures that might remedy the evil. The news that came every moment caused that time to be idly lost, on which it may be said, that the safety of the state depended. Old Guitaut, a man but of little sense, but who loved the Queen, seemed more impatient than the rest, and said with a hoarser voice still than ordinary, that he could not comprehend how it was possible that people should lull themselves asleep in the state things were in. He muttered something else which I did not hear, and at which it is likely that the Cardinal, who did not love him, took offence; for he answered him: 'What then, Mr. de Guitaut; what would you advise us to do?' 'I would advise you,' said Guitaut bluntly, 'to send back that old rogue Broussel, either dead or alive.' Hearing this, I told him that the first way would become neither the Queen's piety nor her prudence: that the second indeed might appease the tumult. The Queen reddened at these words, and cried out: 'I understand you, Sir; you would have me set Broussel at liberty: I would rather strangle him with these hands,' (saying which, she brought her hands almost to my face, adding) 'and those who—' The Cardinal, who knew for certain that she was going to utter what-

ever

ever her rage inspired her with, interrupted her, and whispered something in her ear. She composed herself to a degree, that if I had not known her, I had thought her grown much milder.

The civil judge * came at that instant into the closet, as pale as death. I never saw at the Italian comedy a fright so naturally and so ridiculously expressed, as that which he shewed the Queen, in relating to her some trifling adventures which had happened to him betwixt his house and the Palais-Royal. Observe, I beseech you, and admire the sympathy there is between some minds. The Cardinal had hitherto been but little moved at what Mr. de la Meilleraie and I had said, pathetically enough; and it had made no manner of impression on the Queen. But now the judge's fright caught, I think, in a panic manner, their imagination, their mind, and their heart. Of a sudden they appeared to me like metamorphosed persons: they ceased to ridicule me, and they began to own that the matter deserved consideration. A consultation was held, where the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Longueville, the Chancellor, the Marechal de Villeroi, the Marechal de la Meilleraie, and myself, were suffered to prove, by good arguments, the necessity of sending back Broussel, before the people that threatened to take up arms had actually done it. But we experienced on this occasion, *That it is much more natural, for fear to consult than to determine.* The Cardinal, after a dozen nonsensical speeches that contradicted one another, concluded to adjourn the matter till the next day, and to let the people know in the mean time, that the Queen granted them Broussel's liberty, provided that they would disperse, and cease to demand it in a body. He added, that no body was better able to speak to the people, nor would be more acceptable to them, than myself. I saw the snare, but I could not avoid it; and I could the less do it, because the Marechal de la Meilleraie, who had no forecast, liked the proposal, and hurried me away in a manner along with him into it, by his impetuosity. He told the Queen, that he would go into the streets along with me, and that we should do wonders there. No doubt, said I, provided the Queen is pleased to let us have a promise in due form for the setting the prisoners free, for my credit among the people is not great enough to be believed without that. I was praised for my modesty; the Marechal de la Meilleraie suspected nothing; and I was told that the Queen's word

* A judge in civil matters under the Provost of Paris, who has two civil and two criminal judges that act under him.

word was better than any writing whatever. In short, I was laughed at for what I had asked, and I found myself in that instant, under the cruel necessity of acting the worst part that perhaps any private man was ever put to. I would have replied, but the Queen retired hastily into her little grey chamber. The Duke of Orleans pushed me gently with both his hands, saying to me: 'Restore the state its quiet.' The Marechal de la Meilleraie took me away, and all the life-guards were carrying me off in their arms in a most affectionate manner, saying aloud to me: 'You alone are able to remedy the evil.' In that manner came I out in my pontifical habits, giving blessings on the right and on the left; but you may well think that this occupation did not hinder me from making all the reflections that suited with the trouble I found myself in. I resolved however, without any hesitation, to act purely according to my duty; to preach obedience to the people, and use my utmost endeavours to appease any tumult. The only measure which I was resolved to observe, was to promise nothing in my own name, and only to say that the Queen had assured me that she would send back Broussel, provided the tumult ceased.

The Marechal de la Meilleraie's impetuosity left me no room to measure my expressions; for instead of coming along with me as he had said, he put himself at the head of the light horse-guards, and rode along with his sword drawn, crying as loud as he could; 'God save the King, and liberty to Broussel.' But being seen by many more than there were that could hear him, the naked sword he held in his hand made a stronger impression than his voice could do. They called to arms: a porter drew out a cutlass over-against the Quince-Vint,* and the Marechal shot him dead with a pistol.† At that the cries redoubled, and every where they ran to their arms. A croud of people that had followed me from the Palais-Royal pushed me along, or rather carried me to the Croix-du-Tiroir, where I found the Marechal engaged with a great many citizens that had taken up arms in the street called de l'Arbre sec. I flung myself into the crowd to try to part them, thinking that of both sides they would shew some respect to my habits and my dignity. I was not altogether mistaken, for the Marechal, who was in a pretty great streight, was glad of that

VOL. I.

F

pretence

* An hospital for blind people.

† Joli, in his Memoirs, says that the Coadjutor confessed this porter as he was dying in a kennel which contributed not a little to increase the commotion. Joli pretends that he heard the Cardinal say, that he had done it for that purpose.

pretence to order his light-horse to fire no more. The citizens stood still likewise, and contented themselves with making a stand at the cross way. But twenty or thirty, who came with halberds and musketoon out of the street called Desprouvelles, had not the same moderation; for either not seeing me, or feigning not to see me, they made a very brisk discharge upon the light-horse, broke with a pistol Fonttraille's arm, as he stood with his sword in his hand near the Mareschal, wounded one of my pages who held my cassock behind, and struck me with a stone behind the ear, which brought me to the ground. I was no sooner got up, than a citizen clapped his musketoon to my head, and though he was altogether unknown to me, I thought that it was best to let him think otherwise. I therefore cried to him: 'Ah, wretch! if thy father saw thee!'—At that he fancied that I was his father's best friend, though I knew the father as little as I did the son. I believe that that made him look upon me with more attention, and being startled at my habit, he asked me, if I was not the Coadjutor? All the rest were likewise startled, and every one came running to me. This gave way to the Mareschal de la Meilleraie to retire more freely to the Palais Royal, because I affected purposely to go towards the market-hall. They all followed me thither, where I stood in need of them; for I found there a multitude of brokers that had taken up arms. I flattered them, caressed them, beseeched them, threatened them, till at last, I persuaded them. They quitted their arms, and that preserved Paris; for if they had kept them till night came, which was drawing near, the city had infallibly been pillaged. In all my life-time, I have hardly felt a greater satisfaction than this was to me; and it affected me to that degree, that I had not time to reflect on the manner in which the service I had done on this occasion ought to have been received at court. I say, ought to have been, because it really was received there quite otherwise.

I went to the Palais-Royal, followed by thirty or forty thousand men, but all without arms. I met at the rails the Mareschal de la Meilleraie, who being excessively moved with my manner of acting in regard to him, took me into his arms, and squeezed me till he had almost stifled me: Then he said: 'I am an inconsiderate rash fool: I had near brought the state to ruin; but you have saved all. Come, let us speak to the Queen like true Frenchmen, and like honest men. Let us confer notes together, that by our testimony we may, when the King comes of age, hang those banes of the state, those infamous flatterers, that make the Queen believe that all this

' matter

'matter is but a trifle.' Having ended with me, he turned his speech to the officers of the guards, and spoke as movingly and eloquently, as any General before him has perhaps ever done. After this, he took me along with him, or rather carried me to the Queen. As soon as we got to her: 'Here is the man, Madam,' (said he, pointing to me) 'to whom I owe my life, and to whom your Majesty owes the safety of your guards, and perhaps of the Palais-Royal.' The Queen began to smile, but in a manner that left it doubtful whether she was pleased or angry. I observed it, but I kept it to myself; and to put a stop to the Mareschal's encomium on me: 'No, Madam,' (said I) 'the business is not concerning me, but concerning Paris, whose inhabitants are come without arms, and in a submissive manner, to throw themselves at your Majesty's feet.' 'Paris' (replied the Queen all in a flame) 'is very guilty, and very little submissive. If it be true, as I am told, that they have carried their rage so high there, how can they be appeased in so little a time?' The Mareschal, who observed now, as well as I in what humour the Queen was, said angrily to her, and swearing: 'Madam, no honest man can flatter you in the extremity things are in. If you do not set this day Broussel at liberty, you must expect to see nothing but desolation and ruin to-morrow.' I was going to speak, to back what the Mareschal had said, but the Queen stopt me, and said in a jeering manner: 'Go and take some rest, Sir, you have laboured hard.'

I left the Palais-Royal in this manner: and though I was inwardly enraged, I spoke not one word from thence to my house, that might incense the people. I found an innumerable crowd of them that were staying for me, and that forced me to get upon the roof of my coach, to give them an account of what I had done at the Palais-Royal. I told them that I had acquainted the Queen with their obedience to her commands, in quitting their arms in the places where they were taken up; and in forbearing to take them up in the places where they were upon the point of doing it: that the Queen had expressed some satisfaction for their submissiveness, and had told me that that was the only way to obtain of her the liberty of the prisoners. I added all that I thought might appease that mob, which I did without any great pain, because supper-time drew near. You will look upon this circumstance as ridiculous, but it is founded upon experience; and I have observed that at Paris, in popular commotions, the most inflamed are unwilling to lose a meal.

At my coming home I was let blood, because the contusion caused by the blow which I had received, was much increased; but you may well think that that was not my greatest ail. My credit run a great risque with the people by my giving them hopes of Broussel's liberty, though I had taken great care not to pass my word for it. But how could I expect that they should distinguish so nicely betwixt promises and hopes. Besides, what room had I to believe, from what I had experienced before, and from what had passed that day, that the court would consider in the least the direction which I received there jointly with the Marechal de la Meilleraie? Or had I not rather a just reason to be persuaded, that they would not miss this opportunity of destroying my credit with the people, by making them believe that I had acted in concert with the minister, to amuse and mock them? These views, which I considered in their full extent, grieved me, but did not tempt me. I repented not at all of what I had done, because I was persuaded that I had acted only according to duty, and to prudence. I wrapped myself up, if I may say so, in my innocence, and I became ashamed of having reflected upon the event. Montresor coming to me just at that time, and telling me, that I was mistaken if I thought that I had got much by what I had done; I answered him in these words: 'I have got much by it, because I have thereby freed myself from making an apology in relation to the benefits I have received, which I look upon as an insufferable thing for an honest man to do. Had I staid at home in such a juncture as this, do you think that the Queen, (to whom, when all is done, I owe my post) could with any reason have been satisfied with me.' 'I tell you,' replied Montresor, 'that she is in no manner satisfied with you. Madam de Noailles, and Madam de Motteville,* told the Prince de Guimené this very moment, that they are persuaded at court that you have yourself helped to stir up the people.'

I own that I gave no manner of credit to this speech of Montresor's; for though I had observed that they made a fool of me in the Queen's closet, it could not come into my thoughts that their malignity would go so far as to lessen the merit of the service I had done, much less could I imagine them capable of turning that into a crime. Montresor continuing to torment me by saying that my friend John-Lewis de Fiesque

* This Lady has wrote Memoirs, which have been very lately published, and of which some notice shall be taken in the Fourth Volume.

Fiesque would have followed other steps than mine, I answered him, that I had all my life-time held men in greater esteem for what they were able to do on some occasions, than for what they did every day. These thoughts, and upon the point of falling asleep, when Laigues came to me from the Queen's supper, and told me that I had been there turned publicly into ridicule; that I had been talked of as a man that had left nothing undone to stir up the people, under pretence of quieting them; that there had been whistling in the streets, and that I pretended to have been wounded, though there was nothing like it: in short, that I had been exposed for two hours long, to the ingenious raillery of Beautru, to the drollery of Nogent, to the pleasantry of la Rivière, to the feigned compassion of the Cardinal, and to the Queen's fits of laughing. You may well suppose that I could not hear all this without being moved; but the truth is, that I was not moved to so great a degree as perhaps you may imagine. What I felt was rather a slight temptation to, than a violent motion for, revenge. Every thing indeed came crowding into my mind, but nothing stuck there. I rejected, without almost any manner of hesitation, the brightest and the most flattering ideas which the memory of past conspiracies brought in abundance to my mind, as soon as the ill treatment which I had received, and which was, as I perceived, known and become public, gave me room to think that I might now with honour enter into new ones. All these thoughts I sacrificed to my obligations to the Queen, though I must own that they were dear to me, having in some measure sucked them in with my nurse's milk; and it is certain, that Laigues and Montresor would not in the least have prevailed with me, either by way of persuasion or reproach, if Argentüeil, who from the death of the Count de Soissons, (to whom he was first Gentleman of the chamber) had stuck very close to me, had not come at that same time. He entered my chamber with a wild look, saying to me: 'Sir, you are undone; the Marechal de la Meilleraie has ordered me to tell you, that the devil has taken possession of the Palais-Royal, and has put into their minds there, that you have done your utmost to excite the sedition; that he has omitted nothing to set forth the truth to the Queen, and to the Cardinal, but that they both did but laugh at him: that he can in no manner excuse them for such an unjust proceeding, but that, at the same time, he cannot enough admire them for their contempt of the tumult, which they have seen from the beginning to the end with prophetic eyes, having always said, that the coming of the night would quash that uproar: that he had hitherto believed otherwise, but

' but was now convinced that they were in the right, because
 ' he had walked the streets, and had not found one single
 ' man stirring there : that those sorts of ~~sorts~~ ^{sorts} kindle
 ' again, after they had quenched of themselves suddenly
 ' as that did : that he beseeched me to consider of my own
 ' safety : that the King's authority would appear the next
 ' day in all its grandeur : that he saw the court very much
 ' disposed not to lose the critical moment : that I should be
 ' the first upon whom a great example would be made : that
 ' they had even already talked of sending me to Quimper-
 ' corentin : * that Broussel was to be sent to Havre-de-
 ' Grace, † and that it was resolved that the Chancellor
 ' should come in the morning betimes to interdict the parlia-
 ' ment, and to command them to retire to Montargis.'
 Having said this, Argentüeil added : ' This is what the
 ' Marechal de la Meilleraie bid me tell you. The Maref-
 ' chal de Villeroi speaks not in so plain a manner, because he
 ' dares not : but he squeezed me by the hand as I came by,
 ' after a manner that makes me think that he is likely to know
 ' more : and I tell you,' said Argentüeil, ' that they are
 ' both in the right, for there is not one soul in the streets : all
 ' is calm there, and they may take up to-morrow whomever
 ' they please.' Montresor, who is one of those that has al-
 ways foreseen all, cried out, that he made no doubt of it,
 and that he had said as much before. Laigues began to be-
 moan my conduct, that moved my friends compassion,
 though it involved them in my ruin. All that I said to them
 was, that if they pleased to leave me for a quarter of an hour
 to myself, I would convince them that we were not reduced so
 low as to excite compassion, as indeed we were not. Having
 left me to myself, as I had desired, I did not consider in the
 least what I was able to do, because I was very sure of my
 power ; but I only considered what I ought to do, and that
 puzzled me. But the manner in which I was treated, and
 what was intended against the public, having overcome my
 scruples, and being now conscious to myself that I might act
 with honour, and without incurring any blame, I gave a
 loose to all my thoughts ; I called back to my mind, all that
 my imagination had ever represented to me, of what was
 most glorious and most suitable to great designs. I gave my-
 self leave to be pleased and flattered with the title of head of
 a party ;

* Quimpercorentin, alias Cornoaille, a town in Britanny, near the seaside.

† A sea-port town in Normandy.

a party; which I had always honoured in Plutarch's lives. But what put an end to all my scruples, was the advantage that I fancied I should reap by distinguishing myself from those of my profession in a state of life, wherein all professions are blended and mixt. The disorderly life I led, so unbecoming an ecclesiastic, terrified me; neither was I less afraid of a ridicule like that which the Archbishop of Sens was fallen into. I supported myself by the means of the Sorbonne, by my sermons, and by the love of the people: but that support is but for a time, and that time cannot last long, by reason of a thousand accidents which a disorderly life may occasion. But in a hurry of affairs, the different species are not so easily distinguished, and what is not of itself very justifiable, may become honourable that way: nay, what is really a vice in an Archbishop, may on many occasions be a virtue in the head of a party. I had had that in view a thousand times, but it always gave way to what I thought I owed the Queen. What had passed at the Palais-Royal during supper, and my resolution of running the same fate with the public, rectified now what I thought amiss before; I accepted with joy what I had so many times rejected, and I abandoned myself to all that glory prompted me to.

The clock was striking twelve when I called for Laigues and for Montrefor, to whom I said: 'You know that I dread apologies, but you shall now be convinced that I am not afraid of manifestos. All the court shall be a witness to me of the manner in which I have been used at the Palais-Royal, for above a year. The public ought to defend my honour: but the public is attacked, and it is my duty to defend it from being oppressed. We are not, gentlemen, on so ill terms as you imagine, and to-morrow before noon I shall be master of Paris.' My two friends thought me crazy, and they that had so often before persecuted me to be doing, made me now lectures on moderation. But I hearkened not to what they said; and at that instant I sent for Miron, who was a master in the chamber of accounts, and Colonel of the ward of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois: an honest and a stout man, whose credit was very great among the people. I acquainted him with the state of things, and brought him to be of my opinion. He engaged readily to execute whatever I should desire. We concerted every thing together, and at the first warning which he should have from me, he was to cause the drums to beat, and the people to take their arms.

As he was going down stairs he found one who was brother to his cook, who being condemned to the gallows, and not daring to walk the street in the day time, was often used to roam at night. That man had just met by chance, by Miron's house, two men that looked like officers, talking together and mentioning often Miron's name. He hearkened from behind a door, and heard those men, (whom we knew afterwards to be Vannes, Lieutenant-colonel of the guards, and Rubantel, a Lieutenant in the same regiment,) who were discoursing in what manner they might enter Miron's house in order to surprize him, and what posts were the best, for the guards, the Switzers, the Gens d'Armes, and the Light Horle, to make themselves masters of all that lies between the Pontneuf and the Palais-Royal. This and what the Marechal de la Meilleraie had sent me word of before, made us think that it was fit to prevent the evil, but in a manner however that did not appear to be offensive, nothing being of greater consequence in such a case than to make the people believe, even when they are attacking, that they are only defending themselves. We executed this project by only posting some of the best citizens without any arms, in the places where we had heard that the soldiers were to come, because, by doing so, we were sure that our men would not take up arms till they were ordered so to do. Miron acquitted himself so generously and so happily of that commission, that he got above four hundred of the principal citizens to assemble in small divisions, with as little noise and as little commotion, as the novices among the Carthusians could have made, had they come there about their meditations.

I gave my orders to L'Epinay, (whom I have mentioned before when I spoke of the Count de Soissons's affairs) to keep himself in a readiness, to seize, upon the first notice given him, on the Serjeant's Rail which lies over against St. Honoré's, and to make there a barricado against the guards that were at the Palais-Royal; and Miron having told us that his cook's brother had heard several times the two officers, of whom I have spoke, mention the gate of Nesle, we thought that it would be well for us to take care of it, for fear that there should be a design to carry away somebody or other through that gate. Argentüeil, as brave and as resolute a man as ever was in the world, took that task upon him, and placed himself at a carver's that lived just by, having with him twenty good soldiers, which the Chevalier d'Humieres, who was raising recruits at Paris, lent him. I went to sleep after I had given these orders, and I was not waked

waked till six that morning, when Miron's secretary came to acquaint me that no soldiers had appeared during the night; that a few troopers only had been seen, who in all appearance came to *reconnoitre* the plottons of citizens, which done they galloped away; that by that movement he judged that our precaution had served to prevent the insult, if any was intended, to any particular persons; but that the movement which began to appear at the Chancellor's, denoted that there was some design on foot against the public; that pursuivants were observed to go backward and forward, and that Ondedei had been there four times in two hours space.

Some time after this the first Ensign of Miron's regiment came to give me notice that the Chancellor was marching with all the pomp belonging to his office, directly to the Parliament. Argentüeil at the same time sent me word that two companies of the Switz guard were advancing on the suburbs side, towards the gate of Nesle. The fatal moment is now arrived. I gave my orders in two words, and they were executed in two instants. Arms were taken up at Miron's command. Argentüeil in a bricklayer's dress with a rule in his hand, charged the Switzer's on the flank, took one of their colours, killed twenty or thirty of them, and dispersed the rest. The Chancellor being pursued on all sides, could hardly escape to the Hotel d'O, which lies at the further end of the Augustine's key, on the side of St. Michael's bridge. The people broke open the gates and entered in, all in a rage. God alone saved the Chancellor and the Bishop de Meaux his brother, to whom he confessed himself, by permitting that the mob, who by good fortune for them were busy in pillaging, never thought of breaking open the door of a little room wherein they were hid.

That commotion resembled a sudden and violent fire, which spread itself from the Pontneuf through all the city. Every one without exception took up arms. Children of five and six years old were seen with poniards in their hands, brought to them by their own mothers. There were in Paris above two hundred barricadoes made in less than two hours time, which were bordered with the colours and the arms kept in-tire since the holy league. Being obliged to step out for a moment to appease a tumult that had happened by a misunderstanding between two officers of the ward, in the new street Nôtre-Dame, I saw amongst others, a lance trailed along rather than carried, by a boy of eight years old, which had certainly been preserved from the time of our ancient wars with the English. But I saw something still more curi-

ous than that. The Duke de Brissac made me take notice of a gorget which was silver-gilt, on which the figure of the Jacobine monk who killed Henry the third was engraven, with this inscription: *St. James Clement*. I reprimanded the officer that had it on, and I got it to be publicly broken to pieces on a smith's anvil, at which the people cried, *God save the King*: but the burden was *No Mazarin*.

A moment after my coming back to my house, the Queen's steward came to intreat and command me in her name, to make use of my credit to appease the sedition; by which you may see that they no longer treated it at court as a trifle. I answered coldly, yet respectfully, that my endeavours about it the day before had got me such an odium among the people, that I had run some risque only by shewing myself one moment abroad, and that I had been obliged to return hastily home. I added to this all that you can imagine, of respect, of grief, of regret, and of submissiveness. The steward, who was but at the end of the street when they cried, *God save the King*, and who had likewise heard the people add almost every time, *God save the Coadjutor*, would fain have persuaded me of my credit among them. I should have been very sorry of his thinking otherwise; but yet I feigned all along as if I would have persuaded him of the contrary. The ministers of the two last centuries knew not what they did, when they reduced to words only, the true regard which Kings ought to have for their people: there happens you see conjunctures wherein by a necessary consequence, the real obedience which is owed to kings, is reduced only to words.

The parliament who had assembled that day very early, and even before the people had taken up arms, heard the commotion by the cries of an immense multitude of them, who were roaring in the court-hall and calling out aloud the name of Broussel. Whereupon the company decreed to go in a body and in their robes to the Palais-Royal to demand the prisoners. They likewise decreed against Cominges, Lieutenant of the Queen's guards, and they ordered that all officers whatsoever should be forbidden upon pain of death to take any commission like his, and that those that had been the advisers in this affair should be informed against, as disturbers of the public peace. That arrest was put in execution upon the spot. The parliament went to the Palais-Royal in a body, and to the number of one hundred and sixty. They were received and attended in the streets with incredible huzzas and clappings: all the barricadoes fell at their approach.

The

The first President spoke to the Queen with all the freedom which the state of things required. He represented to her to the life, how the royal word had on all occasions been made a jest of: the shameful, and even childish illusions, whereby resolutions the most advantageous, and even the most necessary to the state, had been a thousand times eluded. He strongly aggravated the danger that threatened the state by the general and tumultuary taking up of arms. The Queen, who feared nothing, because she knew but little, grew extremely incensed, and answered not only in an angry, but even in a furious tone, saying, 'I know very well that the city is in a tumult: but you shall be answerable for it, gentlemen of the parliament; you, your wives and children.' At this last word she retired into her little grey chamber, shutting the door hard after her.

The Parliament was coming back, and was already descending the stairs, when the President de Mesmes, * who was extremely timorous, considering to what danger the company was going to be exposed among the people, exhorted them to try once more to move the Queen if it was possible. They found the Duke of Orleans in the great closet, and made a pathetic speech to him. He got twenty of them into the little grey chamber, where the first President shewed the Queen all the horror of Paris enraged and in arms. It should have said that he tried to do it, for the Queen would hear nothing, and in her fit of anger, flung herself from them into the little gallery.

The Cardinal came to them and proposed to set the prisoners free, provided that the parliament gave their word not to hold their assemblies any longer. At which the first President answered, that they must first deliberate upon that proposition. They were near doing of it upon the spot, but many of the members representing that it would be thought among the people that their votes had been extorted by violence if they debated at the Palais-Royal, it was resolved to assemble in the afternoon at their own court, where the Duke of Orleans was desired to be present.

The parliament coming back in this manner from the Palais-Royal, without mentioning any thing of Broussel's liberty, met at first with nothing but a deep silence instead of the applause they had had before. Being come to the Serjeant's

* *Henry de Mesmes, Baron of Roissi, Marquis de Moigneville, &c. second President à Mortier, in the parliament of Paris. He died in 1655.*

jeant's Rail where the first barricado stood, they met there with murmurings, which they appeased by assuring the people that the Queen had promised satisfaction. They eluded the threatenings at the second barricado by the same means. But when they came to the Croix du Tiroir, where the third stood, the people there refused to be paid in the same coin. A journeyman cook advanced with two hundred men, and clapping his halberd to the first President's breast, said to him: 'Turn back, traitor, and except thou hast a mind to be thyself murdered, bring us back Broussel, or Mazarin and the Chancellor in hostage for him.' I think I need not tell you how great the confusion and the terror was, that seized almost all those that stood by. Five Presidents à Mortier, and above twenty counsellors of the Parliament flung themselves among the crowd to make their escape. The first President alone, the most intrepid man in my opinion that has appeared in his age, remained firm and unmoved. He gave himself time to rally as many as he could of the company; he preserved all along the dignity of a magistrate, both in his words and in every step he took; and he went slowly back to the Palais-Royal, in the heat of all manner of revilings, threatenings, curses and imprecations.

That man had a sort of eloquence that was peculiar to him. He knew nothing of rhetorical figures, he was not congruous in his speech; but he spoke with an energy that supplied the rest, and he was of so bold a nature, that he never spoke so well as in the midst of danger. He surpassed himself when he came back to the Palais-Royal, and it is certain that he moved every body there, the Queen excepted, who remained inflexible.

The Duke of Orleans seemed as if he would have knelt to her: four of the Princesses that quaked for fear, did it in reality. Cardinal Mazarin, to whom a young counsellor of the Chambers of Inquests had said in a jesting manner, that it was fit that he went himself into the streets to see how matters went there; the Cardinal, I say, joined himself to the rest, and they at last with a great deal of difficulty got the Queen to speak these words: 'Well, gentlemen of the parliament, consider then what is fit to be done.' They assembled at the same time in the great gallery; they deliberated and gave an arrest, whereby the Queen was to be thanked for the liberty she granted the prisoners.

At the same time that this arrest was pronounced, Lettres de cachet were immediately dispatched. The first President shewed the people authentic copies both of the arrest and of the

the letters, but they would not quit their arms till the effect had ensued. The parliament itself gave no arrest for the quitting them till they had seen Broussel again among them. He came back thither the next day, or was rather carried upon people's shoulders, with incredible huzzas. The barricadoes were pulled to pieces, the shops were opened, and in less than two hours time Paris was more quiet than I ever saw it on a Good-Friday.

I thought that it would be best to give you this whole narrative, without any interruption, because it contains all that is previous to the civil war. I am now to explain some particulars, which, I dare say, you have been busy with yourself how to comprehend, because they are accompanied with circumstances which can hardly be conceived before they are so explained. For example, you long to know, I am sure, the secret springs that have occasioned all those several bodies to move and act almost all at once : you long to know what have been the wheels, which notwithstanding all the efforts of the court, the artifices of the ministers, the weakness into which the public was fallen, and the corruption among private people ; have maintained this motion in a kind of an equilibrium. It is likely that you imagine in all this a great deal of mystery, of caballing, and of intriguing. I own that you have the appearances on your side, and to a degree that makes me think that historians that have taken, in like cases, what was probable for what was true, ought to be excused. I can however, and must assure you, that till the night that preceded the barricadoes, there was not one grain in all this of what is called state intrigue, and that even what there might be in it of private intrigue was so very light, that it hardly deserves to be weighed. I explain myself. Longueil, a counsellor of the Grand Chamber, of a dark, pragmatical, and dangerous spirit ; but a man that understood the detail of parliamentary affairs better than all the rest of them put together, had a design even at that time of getting for his brother, the President de Maisons, the superintendency of the finances. He had got himself in mighty credit with Broussel, a man as easily governed, and as simple as a child ; and it was believed by many, and I myself believe, that it came into his thoughts from the first stirrings of the parliament, to make use of Broussel, and by spurring him on and inflaming him, to make himself considerable with the ministry.

The President Viole was an intimate friend of Chavigny's, who was exasperated at Cardinal Mazarin, because having been the chief cause of his credit with Cardinal Richlieu, he
was

was made a fool of by him in a cruel manner at the beginning of the regency : and this President being one of the first that expressed a heat in the parliament, Chavigny was suspected to have worked him into it. Was I not in the right to say that the grain of private intrigue that entered into this, was extremely light ? For even supposing it as well prepared as it is possible for art to do, of which I am much in doubt ; what could be performed, in a company composed of above two hundred heads, and joined to three other companies that made up almost as many more, by two of the simplest and most ordinary heads of all those bodies ? The President Viole had all his life-time been a man of pleasure, and not at all applied to his profession. As for Broussel, he had spent his days from his youth to his old age, amongst his bags, and in the dust of the grand chamber, with a greater reputation of integrity than capacity. Those that joined at first the most openly to these two, were, Charton, President of the Requests, a man little less than mad ; and Blancmesnil, President of the Inquests : you know this last ; he acted in the parliament as you have seen him do at your house. Had there been any caballing in the company, I leave you to judge if they had made choice of such brainless men, when they had so many others of an infinitely greater weight. This makes good what I have said more than once, that the cause of the revolution of which I am speaking, ought to be ascribed to nothing else but the altering the ancient laws, which brought along with it insensibly an alteration in people's minds, and which was the cause that even before people were quite aware of the change, there was a party already formed. It is certain that there was not one single man of all those that assisted at the parliament and at other sovereign courts, that had in the least in view what really followed, nor even what was like to follow. All that was said and done there, was accompanied with a like spirit as at processes at law, and as it had an air of chicane, it had likewise its pedantry, the essence of which is a stiffness directly opposite to that suppleness which of all other qualities is the most necessary for the management of great affairs. What is most to be admired is, that that concert which is alone able to remedy the inconveniences likely to happen among such a medley of persons, had passed with them for caballing, which they had an abhorrence for. And yet they were caballing all this while, tho' they knew nothing of it. The blindness of those whose intentions are good, is commonly followed in such a case as this, by the penetration of clearer-sighted men, who mix a spirit.

spirit of faction with the public interest, and who extend their views to future events, and to the possibility of things, at the time that regulated companies look no further than to the present, and to what seems apparent to them.

This reflection, and what you have seen before of the deliberations of the parliament, shews you sufficiently the confusion things were in at the setting up the barricadoes. It likewise shews you the error of those that pretend that a party without a chief is not to be feared. Chiefs may arise in the space of a night. The commotion I have been representing, which was so violent, and of so long duration, produced none in the space of one whole year, and one moment hatched many more than were necessary for the party.

As soon as the barricadoes were down, I went to Madam de Guimené, who told me that she knew for certain that the Cardinal thought me the author of them. The next morning the Queen sent for me. She gave me all possible marks of kindness, and even of trust. She said, that if she had believed me she had avoided the trouble which she was now in; that it was not poor Cardinal Mazarin's fault that she had not done it; that he had told her all along that they ought to rely upon my judgment; that Chavigny was the only cause of this misfortune by his pernicious counsels, which she had had a greater deference for than for the Cardinal's. 'But, good God! (said she all of a sudden) will you suffer that rogue Beautru, who has used you with so much disrespect, to escape without having him bastinadoed? I saw, the night before last, the poor Cardinal upon the point of treating him in that manner.' I received all this with somewhat less sincerity than respect. She ordered me afterwards to go and see the poor Cardinal, both to comfort him, and advise with him what was to be done, in order to bring the people to a right temper.

I went to the Cardinal without any manner of difficulty. He embraced me with a tenderness beyond expression; I was the only honest man in France. All the rest were but a pack of infamous flatterers, who, notwithstanding his counsels and mine, had carried it with the Queen. He declared that he would not take one step for the future, without having me for his guide. He communicated to me all the foreign dispatches, and said in short so many unlikely things, that old Broussel, whom he had sent for, and who came into his chamber quickly after me, could not forbear laughing as we came out; and though his simplicity came very near idiotism, he could whisper

per me in the ear, 'This man is nothing but a pantaloon.' * I came back to my house fully resolved, as you may well think, to consider about the safety of the public, as well as my own. But all the means that I could find out, when I came to examine, seemed to me to be very difficult to bring about. I knew the parliament to be a body that would push things beyond measure. I knew that whilst I was puzzling my head about means, they were deliberating on the town-house rents, of which the court had made a shameful commerce, or rather a public robbing. I considered that the army that got the victory at Lens would take winter quarters near Paris, which, by means of that army, might very easily be invested, and have its provisions cut off. I could not be ignorant that that same parliament which acted in this manner against the court, would be very apt to condemn as guilty those that should act in like manner, and to take in the mean while care for themselves that they might not be oppressed. I knew that there were but few in that company that would not start at the very proposal, or to whom indeed it could be intrusted with any safety. I had before my eyes the great example of the instability of the people, and I was naturally averse to violent means, which are often necessary for the fixing them.

St. Ibal, * a relation of mine, and a man of wit and courage, but very odd in his notions, (for he valued men but at the rate of their being ill at court) pressed me to enter into measures with Spain, where he had a great correspondence by the way of the Count de Fuensaldagne, Captain-general in the Low-Countries, under the Archduke. † He even gave me a letter of the Count's, full of many offers, which I refused to hearken to. I answered the letters only with expressions full of civility; and after many and very deep reflections, I determined at last to let the Spaniards know by the means of St. Ibal, but without engaging myself with them, that I was fully resolved not to suffer Paris to be oppressed; that I would work to that effect jointly with my friends; that by my endeavours I would oblige the parliament to measure their steps a little better; and that I would stay for the Prince of Condé's return, being in very good terms with him, which made me hope that I might convince him how great the evil was,

* That word in this place signifies juggler.

† St. Ibal, Montresor, and some others, were very remarkable in those days, for their hatred to the former minister as well as to this.

‡ Leopold-William of Austria.

was, and how necessary it was to find out a remedy. I had the more reason to believe that I might wait the Prince of Condé's return, because the time of vacations for the parliament drew near, which made me think that their assemblies ceasing for a time, and the court consequently not being pressed by their deliberations, there might be on both sides a kind of truce, which being well managed by the Prince, who was expected weekly, would establish the public tranquillity as well as the safety of particular persons.

The parliament's impetuosity broke my measures; for as soon as they had made an end of their regulations for the payment of the town-house rents, and of their remonstrances for discharging the people of an intire quarter of the Taille, and of the loan to be made by all subaltern officers, they demanded, under pretence of the necessity there was for them to go about the Tariff, the continuation of their assemblies, even during the time of their vacations. The Queen granted it for a fortnight, having full notice given her that they would order it themselves if they were refused. I did all that I could to parry that blow, and I had brought Longueil and Broussel to be of my side, but Novion and Blancmesnil, together with Viole, at whose house we had a meeting at eleven o'clock at night, declared that the parliament would hold for traitors those that should now propose a recess; and Novion finding me to be still insisting, began to suspect that I might act myself in concert with the court. I took no manner of notice of his mistrust, but that brought to my remembrance the sorry Geneva preacher, who suspected the Admiral de Coligny, chief of the Huguenot party, to have confessed himself to a Franciscan friar at Nyort. I told it jestingly, when our conference was ended, to the President le Coigneux, whose son you have now sometime occasion to see. That man was half mad, but had withal a great deal of wit, and having been the Duke of Orleans's minister in Flanders, he knew the world better than the others. His answer to me was: 'You do not know our gentlemen: this is the least you are to expect from them. I will lay a wager, that that simpleton (pointing to Blancmesnil) fancies that he has been at a meeting of witches, because he came hither to meet us at eleven o'clock at night.' He had won the wager if he had laid; for Blancmesnil declared to us before we parted, that he would have no more private conferences; that it savoured too much of faction and of plotting, and that a magistrate ought to deliver his opinion only upon the seat of justice, and without communicating before-hand with any body, for so the ordinances

nances obliged him to do. This was the canvas on which he embroidered many such impertinencies; which I take this notice of, to convince you, *That in a case like this, it is harder to please those of your own party than to act against those that are opposite to you.* I shall have mentioned all their doings in a word, when I have told you that they acted so finely as to oblige the Queen-regent to carry the King away to Ruel. She entertained some hopes that the vacations would have abated something of their heats, and that had obliged her to assure the Provost-des-Marchands that the rumour spread about of her removing the King from Paris was false. But at last she grew impatient, and did remove him. I doubted not but that her design was to attack Paris unawares; and it is certain, that the citizens were alarmed at the King's removal. I found even the next day a consternation among those that had acted with the greatest heat in the parliament. But that which increased it, was the news that came just at that time that Erlac * had passed the river Somme with four thousand Germans. And it being usual in popular commotions to have an ill piece of news followed by some others, so it happened in this case, for no less than five or six of that sort were noised abroad, which convinced me that my task would be still harder, to support people's spirits than to restrain them.

I have hardly found myself in the whole course of my life more perplexed than on this occasion. I saw the danger in all its extent, and I saw nothing in it but what appeared to me most terrible. *The greatest dangers have something pleasing in them, if there is but the least prospect of glory to be perceived in the ill success: but slight dangers are accompanied with nothing but horror, when ill fortune is to be attended with loss of reputation.* I had left nothing undone to hinder the parliament from carrying things to extremes, at least till expedients had been thought of, to defend ourselves from the insults of the court. For who could expect that the ministers would have missed laying hold of this opportunity? Which indeed it is likely they had not, if the Prince of Condé's return had not prevented what they probably designed. It was thought at the time that the King was removed from Paris, that the Prince's return was put off, at least for a while; so not imagining that I could have time to wait his coming as I intended, I came, though with a great deal of reluctancy, to a resolution

* He was Governor of Brisac, and commanded the Duke of Weymar's troops, after that Duke's death.

resolution which was a good one, because there was no other to take. *Extremes are always dangerous, but they become wise means, when they are necessary. There is that comfort in them, that they never work by halves, but will always decide the matter one way or other.* Fortune favoured my project. The Queen caused Chavigny to be arrested, and to be sent prisoner to Havre-de-Grace. I made use in this conjuncture of the great timorousness of Viole, who was Chavigny's intimate friend, to animate him. I told him that what he had acted in the parliament was reckoned to have been done by Chavigny's instigation, for which Chavigny was now punished, and therefore that he ought to expect the like usage, and to look upon himself as a lost man: that it was visible that the court had left Paris only with a design to attack it: that he saw, as well as I, how low the spirits of people were: that if they were suffered to be quite depressed, it would be impossible to raise them up; that therefore it was necessary to support them; that I acted with success among the people, and that I applied to him as to the man whom I trusted and valued most, that he might act in concert with me in the parliament; that I was of opinion, that the company ought not to grow slack on this occasion, but that knowing their temper as he did, he knew likewise that they wanted to be roused at this time, when it seemed that the King's removal had sunk their spirits; and that one word from him spoke opportunely, would work that effect.

These reasons, and what Longueil, who had joined himself to me, added of his own, prevailed after great contests with the President Viole, and obliged him to do purely out of fear, one of the boldest actions that has perhaps ever been spoken of. He took his time when the Président de Mesmes presented to the parliament his commission for the chamber of justice to speak in the manner we had agreed on. He said, that there were affairs beyond comparison more pressing than that of the chamber of justice; that there was a current report of a design to besiege Paris; that troops were ordered to march; that the late King's best servants were imprisoned for their being thought likely to oppose such pernicious designs; that he could not help representing to the company, the necessity there was of addressing the Queen, in a most humble manner, to bring the King back to Paris; and because every body must know who the author of these evils was, he shewed likewise the necessity of desiring the Duke of Orleans, and the great officers of the Crown, to come to the parliament in order to deliberate upon an arrest given in 1617, on occasion of the Marechal d'Ancre,

d'Ancre, whereby foreigners were forbidden to intermeddle with the government of the state. That string had appeared even to us very nice to harp upon, but nothing else was able to awaken, or rather to keep awake these men, who otherwise might easily have fallen into a lethargy, by reason of the fear with which they were seized. This passion does not commonly work that effect on particular persons, but I have observed that it often does it upon companies. I could tell you the reason why, but I think it better not to interrupt the thread of this narration.

The effect which Viole's proposition had on every body's mind, is hardly to be conceived. It first frightened them, afterwards rejoiced them, and emboldened them at last. They now looked on the King's being removed from Paris, with no other view but to bring him thither again, and on the troops only to prevent the design they were intended for. Blancmesnil, who had appeared to me in the morning as a despairing man, mentioned the Cardinal by his own name, who had hitherto been spoken of, only under the title of minister. The President de Novion exclaimed against him in the bitterest terms, and the Parliament gave out, even with demonstrations of cheerfulness, an arrest, whereby it was ordered that a most humble remonstrance should be made to the Queen for her bringing the King back, and her ordering the troops to remove from the neighbourhood of Paris; that the Princes, with the Dukes and Peers, should be desired to meet in parliament, in order to deliberate on affairs relating to the welfare of the state; and that the Prevost-des-Marchands and the Echevins, * should be sent for to receive orders in relation to the safety of the town.

The first President, who seldom spoke but with a great deal of spirit for the interest of that company, but who at the bottom was of the court party, said to me a moment after his coming out of the parliament: 'Do not you admire these gentlemen? They have this moment given out an arrest which may easily cause a civil war: and because Cardinal Mazarin is not named in it, as Novione, Viole, and Blancmesnil would have had it, they think that the Queen is much indebted to them.' I give you an account of these small particulars, because they are properer than great ones to let you into the genius and the state of that company.

The

* There are four in Paris, and their employments are something like that of our sheriffs.

The President le Coigneux, whom I found at the first President's, said to me softly : ' I rely only upon you ; we are all lost, if you do not work under ground.' It was what I actually did, for I had sat up all night with St. Ibal about instructions, which I designed to send him with to Brussels, in order to treat with the Count de Fuenfaldagne, and to engage him to march in case of need with the Spanish army to succour us. I could not answer for the parliament, but I engaged that in case Paris was attacked, and the parliament gave ground, I would declare myself, and make the people declare. This last might be depended upon, but the difficulty of making any thing of it without the help of the parliament, was very great. I knew it, but I knew still better, that in some conjunctures it is even an act of prudence to rely on accidents.

St. Ibal had his boots on, and was upon the point of going, when Mr. de Châtillon came to my house ; and the first thing which he said to me was, that the Prince of Condé, † from whom he had just parted, was to be at Ruel the next day. It was not difficult for me to make him speak, for he was my relation and friend, and hated besides the Cardinal extremely. He told me that the Prince was enraged at him, and was persuaded that if he was let alone, he would ruin the kingdom ; that the Prince on his particular part had many great reasons to complain of him ; that he had discovered at the army, that the Cardinal had got from him the Marquis de Noirmoutier, with whom he kept a secret correspondence, to have informations given him to his prejudice. In short, I found by all that Châtillon said, that the Prince of Condé had not entered into any particular measures with the court. This made me immediately alter my resolution. I ordered St. Ibal not to go on his journey, at which he was extremely angry ; and though I designed at first to feign an illness, that I might not be obliged to go to Ruel, where I did not think myself safe, I now resolved to be there immediately after the Prince. I no longer feared to be arrested there, Châtillon having assured me that the Prince was far from any thoughts of violence, and having besides all possible reason to confide in the friendship he honoured me with. You have heard before, how much he had obliged me in the contest I had at Notre-Dame with the Duke of Orleans ; and I had served him very warmly in the dispute which he had with the Duke, concerning the Cardinal's hat, to which the Prince of Conti his brother had declared his pretensions.

† The Duke of Enguyen was become Prince of Condé by the death of his father.

tensions. La Riviere was so insolent as to complain of it, and Cardinal Mazarin was so weak as to balance about it. I offered the Prince the intervention of the whole church of Paris. I mention here this circumstance, which I had forgot before, that you may see that I might rationally enough appear at court.

The Queen received me admirably well, she was eating a collation near the grotto, and she affected to present some large Spanish lemons, only to the Princess Dowager of Condé, to the Prince her son, and to me. The Cardinal used me with more than ordinary civility; but I took notice of his attention in observing the manner which the Prince of Condé would receive me in. The Prince only embraced me as he went by in the garden; but at another turn he said softly to me: 'I shall be to-morrow morning with you by seven: the crowd will be too great at the Hotel de Condé.'

He failed not to come, and we were no sooner alone in the garden belonging to the Archbishop's palace, but he ordered me to give him a true account of all matters, and of my thoughts upon them. I can, and ought to tell you for the sake of truth, that I have reason to wish that my whole discourse to him, which I spoke more from the heart than the lips, was printed and laid before the three estates of the realm to be examined. Many faults may be found in my expressions, but I dare assure you that my sentiments would not be condemned. We agreed that by my means, the parliament should go on against the Cardinal as they had begun: that I should take the Prince along with me in the night-time, and in a private coach, to Longueuil and to Broussel, to assure them that they should be protected in case of need: that the Prince should shew the Queen all possible marks of compliance and of affection, and should even carefully repair what he had done amiss, by appearing discontented with the Cardinal, that he might thereby ingratiate himself with the Queen and dispose her insensibly to hear and follow his advices; that at first he should seem as if he yielded to her in every thing, but that by degrees he should try to accustom her ears to hear those truths to which she had been hitherto averse; that the people's animosity increasing, and the parliament continuing their deliberations, the Prince should seem to be forced at last, against his own inclination and by meer necessity, to hearken to them; and so letting the Cardinal drop rather than fall, he would find himself master at court by his influence over the Queen; and the umpire among the public, by the state things were in, and by means of his friends and dependants.

It

It is certain that in the present agitation, there was but that single remedy for the setting things again upon a right foot; and as that remedy was necessary, so was it likewise easy. It did not please divine Providence to bless it, though it had given it the best beginning that ever project had. You shall hear in what manner it went on, after I have said a word of what passed immediately before.

The Queen, who had left Paris only to be more at hand, and at liberty to stay for the return of the army with which she designed to insult or to furnish the city (for it is certain that both these thoughts came into her head) shewed no great regard for the parliament in relation to their last arrest, whereby she was desired to bring the King back to Paris. Her answer to the deputies that went to her for that purpose, was, that she wondered extremely at what they did; that it was usual for the King to take the air yearly at this season; and that his health was dearer to her than the people's foolish fears. The Prince of Condé, who came just at this instant, and who would not consent to the design which the court had to attack Paris, thought that he ought at least to give the Queen all the other marks he could of his dependance on her will. He told the President and the two Counsellors that invited him to take his place in parliament, as the arrest directed, that he would not go, but would obey the Queen were he to perish for it. His impetuous humour carried him, in the heat of his discourse, further than he would have gone had he had time to consider of it, as you may easily judge by what I have mentioned of the disposition in which he was, even before I had spoken to him. The Duke of Orleans refused likewise to go, saying that the company proposed things too bold and unwarrantable: the Prince of Conti spoke to the same effect.

The next day the King's counsel brought to the parliament an arrest of the upper council, which annulled the arrest of parliament, forbidding them to deliberate upon the arrest given in 1617 against the administration of foreigners. The company debated with the greatest heat possible: they sent for the *Prevost-des-Marchands* to provide for the safety of the city: they commanded all Governors of places to leave all passages free, and they ordered that the next day, all other business being laid aside, they should deliberate upon the arrest of 1617. I acted all night long with an incredible diligence,* to break those measures, which I had reason to fear would precipitate matters so far as to engage the Prince of Condé, even against his will, in the court party. Longueil stirred all night for the
same

* *The French copy says, beyond possibility.*

same purpose: Broussel promised him that he would open an advice that should be moderate: the others, either assured me that they would do the like, or gave me room to hope that they would. The next day they acted quite otherwise. They began by inflaming one another before they sat down. That cursed spirit of pedantry or formality which I have already mentioned, became master of them, and the same men who two days before trembled for fear, and whom I could hardly put in heart again, passed of a sudden and without knowing why, from a fear even well grounded into a blind rage. That rage was such that they did not so much as consider that the general of that very army which had occasioned their greatest fright, was now come in person, and that they ought to be more afraid of him than of his army, because they had reason to believe him ill affected towards them, as having ever been strongly attached to the court. Without entering into any of these considerations they pronounced an arrest, which obliged the Queen to remove, from Paris, the Duke of Anjou, * with his face still red of the small-pox, and even the Dutchess of Orleans, sick as she was; and which had begun a civil war the next day, if the Prince of Condé, with whom I had a second conference upon that subject that lasted three hours, had not come to a resolution the best and wisest that could be thought of, though he had a very ill opinion of the Cardinal, as well in regard to the public as to himself in particular; and though he was but little pleased with the parliament, with whom no measures could be taken, as a body; and no sure ones with any particular member. He balanced not one single moment to chuse what he thought the most beneficial to the state, which was to keep a middle and an even way between the cabinet council and the parliament; between the faction and the court. What he said on this occasion has ever been imprinted in my mind, even when our contests were at the highest. These were his words:

- Mazarin knows not what he does, and would ruin the state
- if he was not looked after: the parliament goes too fast:
- so you have told me, and so I find it. If they would
- measure their steps we might do our business together, and
- that of the public too. They precipitate themselves, and
- if I did the like with them, I might possibly come off a
- greater gainer than they. But my name is Lewis de Bourbon, and I will not endanger the crown. Are those
- devilish

* Philip of France, only brother to King Lewis the XIVth. and father to the present regent.

‘ devilish square caps * mad, to engage me either to begin a
 ‘ civil war to-morrow, or to destroy them themselves, and to
 ‘ put over their heads and over mine, a shabby Sicilian, who
 ‘ will ruin us all at last?’

It was certainly not without cause that the Prince of Condé was troubled and vexed; for Broussel, with whom he had himself concerted measures, and who had positively promised me to be moderate in that deliberation, was the man that first proposed the arrest, and he gave me no other reason for it than the general ferment which he saw working in the minds of people. The conclusion of my conference with the Prince was, That he should immediately go to court, and oppose there as he had already done the project of attacking Paris, which had been concerted and resolved upon before; and that he should propose to the Queen, that the Duke of Orleans and he should write to the parliament, to desire them to send some deputies to confer with, and to seek for means to remedy the grievances of the state.

I am obliged to declare, for the sake of truth, that I thought not at all of that expedient, which came altogether from the Prince. I was, it is true, charmed when I heard it, and it touched me to a degree that the Prince could not but take notice of my transport, at which he kindly said to me: ‘ How different you are from what they think you at
 ‘ court! Would to God that all those rogues of ministers
 ‘ meant as well as you.’ I had assured the Prince, that the Parliament could not be otherwise than extremely pleased with the honour of receiving letters from the Duke of Orleans and from him, upon that subject; but I had added, That considering the parliament’s animosity, I was in doubt whether they would confer with the Cardinal; that I was persuaded, that if his Highness could oblige the Court, one way or other, not to insist upon the Cardinal’s being present, nor make that one of the conditions of the conference, he would thereby gain a considerable advantage to himself, because the whole credit of an accommodation would be ascribed only to him, the Duke of Orleans in such cases being commonly looked upon as a meer cypher; and because the exclusion of the Cardinal would extremely discredit his ministry, and would be of mighty help to the blow which he designed to give him in the cabinet. The Prince saw very well how much this tended to his interest; and the parliament’s answer

VOL. I.

G

to

* *The Presidents and Counsellors of the parliament wear square caps.*

to Choisi, the Duke of Orleans's Chancellor, and to the Chevalier de Riviere, Gentleman of the Chamber to the Prince, who had presented their master's letters; the parliament's answer, I say, being that they would send their deputies to St. Germain's the next day, to confer only with the Princes; the Prince of Condé made a very dextrous use of this answer to persuade the Cardinal not to expose his person, but to make (as prudence required) a virtue of necessity. This was a cruel stroke to the person of a Cardinal, acknowledged as first minister from the late King's death; neither was what followed after, less shameful to him. The President Viole, who had first proposed in parliament the renewing the arrest of 1617, against foreigners, came, upon the Prince of Condé's word, to St. Germain's, whither the King was gone from Ruel. The President was admitted without any contest, at the conference which was held at the Duke of Orleans's, and where the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke de Longueville, assisted. Almost all the articles which had been proposed in St. Lewis's chamber were discussed there, and the Princes agreed to many of them without much difficulty; but the first President's complaint of Chavigny's imprisonment, occasioned a great contest. He was answered, That the parliament had nothing to do in Chavigny's concern; because he was not of their body; to which the first President replied, that the ordinances directed that no body should be kept in prison above twenty-four hours, without being examined. The Duke of Orleans rose up all in a heat at that word, which, as he pretended, kept the royal authority within too straight bounds. Viole maintained that point with vigour; the deputies stuck close to it with one accord, and upon their reporting the matter the next day to the parliament, they were applauded for it. That point was carried on and pursued with so much vigour, that the Queen was obliged to consent that the declaration should import; That no body, even of the common people, should be kept above three days prisoner, without being brought to an examination. That clause obliged the court to set Chavigny immediately at liberty, because there was no ground for examining him in form; and this article, which was called, *The article that concerned the public safety*, was almost the only one that met with any considerable opposition. The ministers were very unwilling to tie themselves up to a rule so contrary to their practice; but the parliament was as unwilling to yield up an ancient ordinance granted by our Kings, at the request of the estates of the kingdom. The three

three and twenty other proposals made in St. Lewis's chamber passed without any great contest as to their substance, though they occasioned a pretty great heat among some particular persons. There were five conferences held at St. Germain's. None but the Princes assisted at the first, of the court side. The Chancellor and the Mareschal de la Meilleraie, who had been made Superintendant of the Finances in the room of Emeri, were admitted in the four others. There, some hard words arose between the Chancellor and the first President, who had a contempt for the other which he carried even beyond good manners. The next day after each conference, the report which the deputies made of it, was examined in parliament. I should tire you if I gave you an account of all the scenes that were there presented to the public. It is enough to tell you in general, that the parliament having obtained, or rather carried, all their demands without exception, which were to have the ancient ordinances restored by the King's declaration, of which they themselves had the wording, thought that they yielded a great deal by promising that they would now cease to assemble. You will have a view of the whole declaration, if you are pleased to join together the several proposals which I have mentioned before, and which were made from time to time by the parliament, and by the assembly held in St. Lewis's Chamber. The day after this declaration was published and registered, which was the twenty-fourth of October 1648, the parliament begun their vacations, and soon after the Queen brought the King to Paris. Before I go on to what followed, I must give you an account here of two or three matters that happened whilst the conferences were holding.

Madam de Vendôme presented a petition to the parliament for the justification of her son the Duke of Beaufort, who had made his escape out of his prison of the Bois-de-Vincennes upon Whitsunday, with as much courage as good fortune. I did my best to serve him on this occasion, and Mademoiselle de Vendôme his sister, who was now Dutchesse de Nemours, owned to me that I was not ungrateful.

My conduct was not so good on another occasion. The Cardinal, who wished earnestly to discredit me with the public, had engaged the Mareschal de la Meilleraie, who, as I have said, was Superintendant of the Finances, and my friend, to bring to my house forty thousand crowns, which the Queen had sent me for the paying of my debts, in acknowledgement, as she said, of the services which I had endeavoured to

do her upon the day that the barricadoes were set up. I beg of you to observe, that the Marechal, who had given me the best informations of the sentiments that the court had of me in relation to what happened on that day, was now persuaded in his conscience that they had altered those sentiments, because the Cardinal had expressed before him a great sorrow for the wrong he had done me, having since, as he said, clearly discovered the mistake he was then in. I mention this circumstance of the Marechal, only because it serves to shew you, *that men at court that are naturally weak will always believe what the minister takes but the least pains to persuade them of.* I have observed it a thousand times, and if they are not made fools of, it is only the minister's fault. But that sort of weakness for the court not being my defect, what the Marechal de la Meilleraie said worked not the same effect on me as the Cardinal's words had worked upon him. I refused to accept what the Queen sent me, and I did it in the civil manner which is required on such occasions, but with a sincerity answerable to theirs that had sent me the present.

The point wherein I fell into their snares was this: the Marechal d'Estrées was treating about the government of Paris with Mr. de Montbazon. Cardinal Mazarin obliged d'Estrées to seem to have altered his mind about it, and to endeavour to put that same design in my head, as being a thing that concerned me much, and which I was the more likely to come into, because the Prince de Guimené, whom that post did not suit with, having the survivorship of it, and being consequently to receive part of the sum that was to be paid; that would please the Princess de Guimené, whose interest they knew I was not indifferent to. Had I had the least sense, I had not hearkened to a proposal of that nature, which had put me, if it had succeeded, to the necessity either of making use of that post against the court interest, which certainly had not been right; or to prefer the duty of a governor to that of an archbishop, which was directly against my interest and reputation. This I should have foreseen if I had been in my senses; but if I had had one single grain of sense left me on this occasion, I had kept at least my proneness to the thing hid, 'till I was convinced of its likeness to succeed. But the sight of a governor's staff laid across a bishop's crozier made such a pretty figure in my eyes, that it altogether dazzled me. The Cardinal having effected what he designed, which was to cast a public blemish upon me in relation to my private interest, which hitherto it had not been possible for him to take the least hold of against me, obliged the Marechal d'Estrées

d'Estrées to raise difficulties that broke the bargain. I committed at that instant a second fault, as great almost as the first; for instead of reaping what profit I could of what I had done amiss, which I might have done two or three several ways, I fell in a passion, and said all that a blind rage could inspire me with against the minister; and this I spoke to Brancas, the Marechal d'Estrées's nephew, who even at that time had thought it a vice not to discover to the men in power what he heard the lesser ones speak against them. It is impossible for me to give you any tolerable reason for my acting in that manner. My best way therefore is to make use of that principle which I have imprinted in me, whereby I take a greater pleasure in acknowledging my faults to you, than I should in hearing myself justly praised. I return to public affairs.

The declaration of which I spoke last, with the King's return to Paris, and the Parliament's not assembling, appeased for a moment the people, who were so incensed, that two or three days before that declaration was registered, they were near to have massacred the first President, and the President de Nesmond, because the company went not so fast on in their deliberations upon the impost on the entry of wine, as the merchants expected. The heat returned with the St. Martin.* The vintage vapours seemed to have reached people's heads, and to have made every one drunk. The scenes which you have hitherto seen were but rural and pastoral, compared to those you are now to see.

There is a critical minute in every thing, and the masterpiece of good conduct is to perceive it, and take hold of it. If it is missed chiefly in revolutions of state, 'tis odds if it can be met with or perceived again. There are thousands and thousands examples of it. The six or seven weeks that passed from the publishing the declaration to the St. Martin of the year 1648, present us with one which we have but too much felt. Every one found his account in that declaration, that is, that they found it, had they understood it right. The parliament had the honour of having restored good order; the Princes not only shared that honour with them, but reaped besides the profit of it, which was their own safety, and a greater respect which they received thereby from others; the people eased of above sixty millions, found in it a considerable relief; and if Cardinal Mazarin's genius had led him towards

* The time when the parliament meet again after their vacation.

towards turning to his own honour, the necessity which he was put to, which is one of the most necessary qualifications in a minister, he might in time, by a privilege always annexed to favour, have appropriated to himself the greatest part of the merit, even of those things which he had the most opposed.

These were signal advantages for every one, and every one let these advantages slip, for considerations that were so slight, that they ought not in right reason to have occasioned the loss of much lesser ones. The people to whom the assemblies of parliament had given a new life, were startled (when those assemblies ceased) at the approach of some troops, which it was certainly ridiculous to take any umbrage at, in regard both of their small number, and of many other circumstances. The parliament, on their part, treated all trifles that tended in the least to the non-performance of the declaration, with the same rigour and the same formalities that they had treated of a default or a foreclosure. The Duke of Orleans saw all the good which he might do, and part of the evil which he might prevent; but the view he had of it not working upon his fear, which was the passion that mastered him, that view did not strike him enough to move him. The Prince of Condé saw the evil in all its extent; but courage being his most natural virtue, he did not fear that evil so much as he ought to have done. He willed the good, but he willed it only after his own manner. His age, his humour, and his victories, suffered him not to add patience to activity; and he did not take notice early enough of that maxim so necessary to Princes; *That they are to look on small accidents as on victims only, which ought always to be sacrificed to greater affairs.* The Cardinal, who was altogether unacquainted with our manners, was continually confounding the most important affairs with the slightest. The very next day after that declaration was published, which, in the humour people were then in, was looked upon as a fundamental law of the state; the next day, I say, after its being published, it was broke into, and altered in trifling articles, which the Cardinal ought to have observed, even with ostentation, to colour what contraventions he might be obliged to commit in greater. The consequence of this conduct was, that soon after the opening of the parliament, the chambers renewed their assemblies, and that even the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, to whom the declaration was carried that same month of November to be verified, took the

the liberty of adding more clauses and modifications than the parliament had done.

The Court of Aids, among other things, forbade, upon pain of death, the farming out of the Tailles; but being sent for upon that subject to the Palais-Royal, and having in a manner receded from their first arrest, by permitting to lend money for six months upon that fund, the parliament took it very ill, and assembled the 30th of December, as well about that matter as about another declaration which they knew was preparing at the Chamber of Accounts, to validate those loans upon the Tailles for ever. I beg that you would observe, that so soon as the 16th of December, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, had been at the parliament to put a stop to their assemblies, and to oblige the company to go to work only by deputies, about examining the articles of the declaration, which they pretended that the minister had infringed. The parliament yielded to them in this point; but after a very sharp contest, the Prince of Condé grew extremely angry; and it was even said, that he made a sign with his little finger, which was taken for a threatening. He has often told me since, that he never had that in his thoughts; but it is certain, that most of the counsellors believed it, and that a murmuring arose upon it, and if the clock had not struck, * matters were like to grow more enflamed.

They appeared cooler the next day, because the company had consented, as I have already mentioned, to examine the contraventions made to the declaration only by deputies, and at the first President's house. But that appearance of a calm lasted not long. The parliament resolved, on the second of January 1648-9, to assemble again in a body, about providing for the execution of the declaration, which they pretended to have been broke, chiefly the eight or ten last days, in all its articles. This obliged the Queen to remove the King from Paris upon Twelfth-day, at four in the morning, and the whole court followed him. The particular springs of this great movement are curious enough, though they are but very simple.

You are sufficiently apprized, by what I have already said, of the motives which obliged the Queen, led as she was by the Cardinal, to act as she did; and likewise of those of the Duke of Orleans, who was governed by la Riviere, the man
of

* Twelve at noon, the hour at which the company usually rises.

of his time of the vilest mind, and the most selfish. I shall now give you my opinion about the Prince of Condé's motives, as they have appeared to me. The parliament's want of discretion, which I have taken notice of before, begun to disgust the Prince almost as soon as he had entered into the measures with Broussel and with Longueil. That disgust happening at a time when the Queen caressed him, and the Cardinal seemed to stoop to him; and being joined to the natural inclination which he had inherited both from his father and mother not to love to fall out with the court, weakened easily enough in his mind the reasons which his great heart had suggested to him. I perceived immediately that change. I was grieved at it for mine and the public's sake, but much more for his own. I loved him as much as I honoured him, and I saw at one view a precipice opened for him. I should tire you, should I relate all the conversations which I had with him upon that subject. This alone of which I am going to give you the particulars, will make you judge of the rest. It happened the afternoon of the day on which it was pretended that he had threatened the parliament.

I then found that his disgust, which I had before perceived, was changed into anger, and even into indignation. He began to swear, and to say, that it was no longer possible to bear the impertinence and the insolence of these citizens, whose intent was to attack the royal authority. That so long as he believed that they had had only Mazarin in their view, he was of their side; but that I had myself confessed many times to him, that no stable measures could be entered into with men that could never be sure of themselves for a quarter of an hour together, because they could never be sure of their companies for one instant: that he could not resolve upon becoming the general of an army of mad men, because no man in his senses could ever join and engage with such a rout as they were: that he was a Prince of the Blood, and would not endanger the state: that had the parliament followed the steps that were agreed on, the state might have been redressed; but that the course they took was the way to ruin all. The Prince added to this many other reflections relating to himself and to the public. I answered him in these words:

‘ I agree with you, Sir, in all your general maxims: give me leave to apply them to the particular fact. Supposing that the parliament did in effect labour to ruin the state; it is however certain, that their intention is not to ruin it. Nobody has a greater interest than the parliament to maintain the royal authority; it is what every body owns. When
‘ therefore,

therefore sovereign courts do ill that way, it must be acknowledged, that it is only because they know not how to do the good, which they certainly have in their will to do. The ability of a minister who knows how to manage the people, together with these bodies, consists in keeping them in the equilibrium, in which they ought naturally to be. Then may he expect to see the bodies go on with success, by keeping a just medium between the Prince's authority and the obedience of the people. The present minister has neither penetration nor strength sufficient to regulate the weights of this great clock-work. There are in it wheels within wheels. Those wheels that should keep the clock in a moderate motion go on too fast, and in that lies the defect of the whole machine. Your Highness is willing to redress it, and is in that so much the more in the right, that there is none but yourself that is able to do it. But is it the way to redress it, to join with those that would destroy it? You acknowledge the Cardinal's wrong steps; you acknowledge his thoughts to be bent upon settling in France a power which he never knew but in Italy. Should he succeed, would that be for the interest of France, according to her sound and true maxims? Would it be in any-wise for the interest of the Princes of the Blood? But besides, is he in a condition to succeed? Does he not bend under the weight of the public contempt and hatred? Is not the parliament the people's idol? I know that you account the people for nothing, because the court is provided with an army; but give me leave to tell you, that they ought to be accounted for much, whensoever they account themselves to be all in all. This is now their case. They themselves begin to account your armies for nothing, and the misfortune is, that their power consists in their imagination; for it may truly be said, that there is this difference between their power and all other sorts of power; that when the people are wound up to a certain pitch, they are able to perform whatever they think they may. Your Highness was telling me some days ago, that that disposition of the people was but a smোক; but that smোক, so thick and so black, is kept up by a fire very quick and well lighted. The parliament blows that fire, and the parliament, with the best intentions in the world, and the most innocent, may likely enough blow it into such a flame, that they will be themselves set on fire and consumed by it; but not without hazarding the whole state in these intervals, and that more than once. *It is common for such bodies as the parliament,*

to examine and pursue with too great rigour the minister's faults, when once they fall foul upon them; but they seldom or never make a right use of their imprudences; which in some occasions is enough to ruin a state. Had the parliament, some time before your Highness's arrival, made any answer to the Cardinal's ridiculous and pernicious proposal, whereby they were commanded to declare, whether their intent was to set bounds to the royal authority; had not the wisest heads of that company eluded the answer, France, in my opinion, had been in danger, because, if the company had declared for the affirmative, as they were very near doing, they had rent the veil which covers the mystery of the state: every monarchy has its mystery; that of France consists in a kind of religious and sacred silence, wherein the people, by obeying the King (almost always blindly) bury the right they have to do otherwise; which right they are willing to take up, only in such emergencies when their obedience would be a disservice to their Kings. It was a miracle that the parliament at that time did not pull off that state veil, and that they did not pull it off in form and by an arrest, which would be of a much more dangerous and fatal consequence, than the liberty which the people has taken of late to look through it. If that liberty which has already gained the borders of our parliament courts, had reached the grand chamber, it had quickly turned into reversed laws, what is yet but a doubtful question, and what was, not long ago, but an unknown, or at least but an awful mystery. Your Highness is not like to put a stop by force of arms to the consequences that must follow the unhappy state which I have been representing, and to which it is to be feared that we are too near. You see how hard it is for the parliament to contain the people which they themselves have stirred: you see how the evil spreads every where, and how in Guienne and Provence they already give to others the dangerous example which they have received from Paris. The whole kingdom is in a motion, and your Highness alone is able to fix that motion, by reason of your illustrious birth, of your high reputation, and of the general persuasion in which people are, that none but you can do it. It may truly be said, that the Queen partakes the hatred which the people have for the Cardinal, and the Duke of Orleans, the contempt which they have for la Riviere. If you comply with any of their doings, you must expect to share the public hatred. You are, 'tis true, above contempt, but you cannot hinder fear from taking in peoples mind the room
of

* of contempt, and that fear will exasperate to such a degree
 † the hatred which the people will conceive against you,
 † and the contempt they have already for the others, that the
 † evil which is now only dangerous to the state, may become
 † mortal, and may possibly, in the sequel of the revolution,
 † mix with that evil a despair of a pardon, which in these cases
 † is always the most dangerous and the last symptom of the
 † disease. I am not ignorant of the just reasons your High-
 † ness has to fear the proceedings of a body composed of
 † above two hundred heads, and which is fit neither to govern,
 † nor to be governed. That obstacle is great, but, in my
 † opinion, may be removed, and even with ease in this pre-
 † sent conjuncture, considering other particular circumstances.
 † Let us suppose that there is a party formed; that manifestos
 † are published; that you are at the head of an army; that
 † in fine you are declared the general of that party which
 † the parliament is come into: would you be less able, Sir,
 † to bear that weight than your grandfather * and great
 † grandfather † were to bear the weight of the party they
 † headed, when they were forced to comply with the humours
 † of the ministers of Rochel, and of the mayors of Nîmes
 † and Montauban? Or why should your Highness find a
 † greater difficulty to manage the parliament of Paris than the
 † Duke of Mayenne † did during the league, which was the
 † faction in the world the most opposed to all the maxims of
 † the parliament? Your birth and merit raise you as much
 † above this last example, as the present cause is above that of
 † the league. Besides the manner of executing the thing is
 † very different. The head of the league, when he declared
 † war, had joined himself publicly and openly with the Spa-
 † niards against the crown of France, and against the person
 † of one of the bravest and best Kings § France ever had.
 † The Duke de Mayenne however, though come of a foreign
 † and suspected stock, could maintain for a long while in his
 † interest, that same parliament, the single thought of which
 † is a pain to you; when in this present conjuncture you
 † would

* Henry of Bourbon, the first of the name.

† Lewis of Bourbon, the first of the name.

‡ Charles Duke of Mayenne, who after the death of his brother Henry, first of that name, Duke of Guise, and of his brother Lewis, Cardinal of Guise, who were both killed at Blois, by the order of Henry the Third, became the head of the faction, called the Holy League.

§ Henry IV.

would be so far from involving them in a long war, that your joining with them would only be to procure them peace and safety. You have opened your mind but to two men of that whole body, and not till they had both of them passed their word, that they would keep your intent secret to all the rest without exception. How can your Highness pretend, that these two men may be able, by means of what you have communicated to them with such restrictions, to regulate the motions of their whole body? I dare be answerable to you, Sir, that if you are pleased to declare yourself the protector of the public, and of all the sovereign courts of judicature, you may dispose of them, for a long time at least, in an absolute and almost sovereign manner. But this is not your view: you have no mind to fall out with the court; you had rather be of the cabinet council than of the faction. Do not therefore take it ill, that men that see you only in that light, measure not all their steps as your conveniency best requires. You ought rather to measure your steps by theirs, because their steps are public; and that you might do, because the Cardinal, crushed as he is under the weight of public hatred, is too weak to oblige you to come to an open rupture before you have brought matters to a readiness. La Riviere, who governs the Duke of Orleans, is the man in the world the most timorous. Continue to shew that you seek only to mitigate things, and let them go on according to your first plan. Will a little more or less heat in the parliament make you fall off from what you had projected? What matters, after all, more or less heat? The worst that can happen is, that the Queen believes that you have her interest too little at heart. Are there no means to be found to make her think otherwise? No appearances to make use of, or even realities? In short, Sir, give me leave to tell your Highness, that never project was so fine, so innocent, so necessary, and even so sacred, as that which you have formed; and that never reasons were, at least in my opinion, so weak as those which you oppose to its execution. Among the reasons that ought to induce you to the contrary, one of the least is, that if Cardinal Mazarin does not succeed in his undertaking, he may involve you in his ruin; and if he does succeed, he will make use for ruining you of whatever you may have done towards the raising him up.

You may see by this speech's being so ill put together, that it was spoken without any preparation. Upon my coming home from the Prince, I made Laigues write it down, and he

he shewed it me the last time I was at Paris. I did not persuade the Prince of Condé, who was already prepossessed. He answered the particular reasons which I made use of, only by general ones, which is pretty much his way. Heroes have their defects: that of the Prince of Condé was, with one of the finest wits in the world, not to enter enough into particulars, nor weigh things together. Those that were pleased to think that he endeavoured at first to disperse matters by means of Longueil, of Broussel, and of myself, that he might thereby become more necessary to the court, and with a view of doing for the Cardinal what he afterwards did, wrong his virtue and the truth, as much as they pretend to honour his ability. Those likewise that believe that lesser interests, as those of pensions, of governments, of settlements, were the only causes of his change, are not much less mistaken. The view of being uppermost in the cabinet council helped certainly to occasion it, but of itself had not prevailed over other considerations. The true cause of his change was, that though at first he perceived every thing alike, he did not feel all alike. The first idea with which he was struck, was the honour of being the restorer of the public, and the second that of being the preserver of the royal authority. This is the character of all those that have the defects which I have but just mentioned. For though they perceive very well, and even at one view, the inconveniencies and advantages of the two parties they are balancing about, yet they do not weigh together these inconveniencies and these advantages; so that what appears to them the lightest one day, will the next day appear to them the weightiest. This was exactly what made the Prince change; upon which it must be owned, that what has not honoured his views, or rather his resolution, has fully cleared his intention. Neither can it be denied, but if that intention of his had been rightly carried on, he would certainly have redressed the state, and that perhaps for ages. When, on the other hand, every one must allow, that if he had had an ill intention, he might have gone as far as he had pleased, at a time when want of years in the King, the Queen's obstinacy, the Duke of Orleans's weakness, the incapacity of the minister, the licentiousness of the people, and the heat in which the parliament was, opened to a young Prince full of merit, and loaded with laurels, a finer and larger list than the Princes of the house of Guise had entered.

In the conversation that I had with him, he repeated two or three times angrily, that he would let the parliament see, if they went on as they used to do, that they were further off
than

than they thought from what they expected, and that it would be no hard matter to humble them. To say the truth, I was not sorry that he gave me that handle to draw out of him as much as I could of the court's intention. It is true, that he did not altogether explain his meaning, but I discovered enough to confirm myself in the thoughts I had, that they began to renew their design of attacking Paris. That I might be the better informed, I told the Prince that the Cardinal might easily be mistaken in his measures, and that Paris would prove a morsel hard to digest. To which the Prince replied angrily: 'Paris is not to be taken like Dunkirk, by mines and by attacks; but if they wanted bread there but for a week'—— I understood his meaning, and interrupting him, I said, much less with a design to know more, than to find room to disengage myself from him: that the design of preventing Paris from being supplied with bread, would meet with difficulties. 'Of what sort,' said he hastily? 'Dare the citizens come out to give battle?' 'The battle, Sir, answered I, would be easily won, if there was nobody besides themselves.' 'Who then will be with them,' replied he? 'Do you intend to be there?' 'That would be an ill sign, answered I, and would favour too much of the procession made in the time of the league.' He considered a little, and then said; 'Let us speak seriously: could you be mad enough to engage with these men?' 'I am but too much inclined that way, answered I: you know it, Sir, and you know besides, that I am Coadjutor of Paris, and consequently engaged to defend it out of a principle both of honour and of interest. I shall as long as I live serve your Highness in what does not touch this point.' I could perceive that the Prince was moved to hear me declare myself in that manner; however he contained himself, and said; 'When you engage in a bad affair, I shall pity you, but shall have no reason to complain of you. Do not complain of me neither, and be a witness for me, as indeed you ought, that I have promised Longueil nor Broussel nothing but what the parliament has released me from by their doings.' He used me afterwards very kindly as to my person: he offered to reconcile me with the court. I assured him of my zeal and obedience in every thing that might agree with my engagements, which were known to him, and from which I made him own, that it was not possible for me to come off; and so I left the Hotel de Condé in a great agitation of mind.

Montresor

Montresor and St. Ibal came to me just at the time that I was making an end of dictating to Laigues the conversation that I had had with the Prince, and they did what they could to oblige me to send to Brussels that very moment. Though I felt within me a great reluctance to be the first that should mix in our affairs any grain of the Spanish Catholicon,* necessity forced me to do it, and I began to indite the instruction which was to contain many heads, and which for that reason was left to the next day to make an end of.

Fortune presented me in the afternoon with a way more pleasing and more innocent. I went by chance to make a visit to Madam de Longueville, whom I saw but seldom, because I was an intimate friend of the Duke her husband, who was not the man of the court on the best terms with her. I found her alone, and in the conversation which I had with her she fell of herself on public affairs, which were in fashion, and she seemed to me to be enraged at the court. I knew by what was publicly reported, that she was no less enraged at the Prince of Condé, her brother, and to that report I added what I could gather from some words she dropped. I was not likewise ignorant that the Prince of Conti was entirely at her disposal. All these ideas came of a sudden into my head, and brought a thought thither which I shall give you an account of, after I have a little explained what I have now touched upon.

Mademoiselle de Bourbon had loved her eldest brother with the greatest tenderness possible, but some time after her marriage with the Duke de Longueville, she was possessed against him, with a rage that was carried to an incredible excess. You may easily believe that this was ground enough among the public to make sad comments upon a conduct of which no body could perceive the true motives. As for my part I could never find them out, † but I have always been persuaded that what was said about it at court was not true, because if there had really been a love-passion between them, the Prince had not

* During the league in France, that name was given to the intrigues of the court of Spain, which stirred up in France the animosity of the factious, under pretence of religion, and of public good.

† See the Memoirs of the Dutchesse de Nemours, daughter to the Duke de Longueville by his first wife, who was sister to the late Count de Soissons. That Lady, who in all likelihood was well informed of the matter, mentions the cause of the falling out between the Prince of Condé and his sister.

not preserved for her the tenderness which he shewed in the greatest heat of her affair with Colligni. I have observed that their rupture happened not till after his death, and I know for certain that the Prince was not ignorant of his sister's real passion for that gentleman. The passionate love which the Prince of Conti had for her, gave that family, though very unjustly, a certain air of incest, which what I said just now in opposition to that, and which to me seems convincing, could not take away. I have already hinted that the disposition in which I found Madam de Longueville, offered me an opportunity to prepare a defence for Paris, nearer at hand, more natural, and less odious than the help of Spain. Not but that I was acquainted with the weakness of the Prince of Conti, who indeed was yet but almost a child. But I knew at the same time, that that child was a prince of the blood. I wanted nothing but a name to give life to a party, which without it had been but a mere shadow. I was pretty sure of the Duke de Longueville, who was the man in the world who loved best the beginning of an affair. I knew besides for certain that the Marechal de la Mothe, * who was enraged at the court, would never separate himself from the Duke de Longueville, to whom he had been tied for twenty years together by a pension, which he even kept out of gratitude, after he was made Marechal of France. I saw the Duke de Bouillon very full of discontent, and almost reduced to want, by the disorder in which his domestic affairs were, and by the injuries which he received from the court. I had had in my view all the persons I have named, but they had appeared to me only in a remote prospect, because not one of them was fit to open the scene. The Duke de Longueville was fit only for the second act: the Marechal de la Mothe, a good soldier but otherwise a man of no parts, could never be chosen for the chief actor: the Duke de Bouillon was able to have acted the first part, but his sincerity was more doubtful than his talent, and besides I was well informed that his Lady, † who governed him intirely, took not the least step but as she was moved by Spain. So that you will not wonder that I had not before fixed these

obscure

* *Philip de la Motte Houdancourt, Duke of Cardona, &c. Marechal of France. He had been kept prisoner for a long while, upon account of some ill success he had in Catalonia, of which he was Viceroy, and was but lately released out of prison.*

† *Leonora-Catherine Fabronie de Bergh, daughter to Frederic Count of Bergh, Governor of Friesland.*

obscure and uncertain views, which now I could bring altogether and unite in the person of the Prince of Conti, who by his being a Prince of the blood, drew to him and reconciled what appeared most opposite. I had no sooner given the least hint to the Dutches de Longueville of the figure which she might make in the party at a time that all things tended to a rupture, but she came into the project with a transport of joy which I cannot express. I took care to manage these dispositions. I quickened the Duke de Longueville, both by myself and by Varicarville, who was his prisoner, and in whom he was in the right to confide as he did, entirely. This made me resolve upon having no correspondence with Spain, but to stay till some occasion, which I judged to be but too near, should offer of itself, whereby our being forced to apply to that crown, should appear to proceed from others rather than from me. That resolution, though it was strongly opposed by St. Ibal and Montrefor, was certainly the best, and the sequel will shew you that I judged right in not being over hasty about making use of a remedy doubly dangerous, and which always needs proper lenitives before it is first applied.* - - -

As for Madam de Longueville, the small-pox had taken from her the first bloom of her beauty, but had left her almost all its lustre; and that lustre, added to her quality, her wit, and a tender languishing air which had a particular charm in her, made her one of the most lovely women in France. My heart was the properest in the world to place her there between the Princess de Guimené and Madam de Pommereux. I will not say that she would have accepted it, but I can assure you that it was not the impossibility of the thing that made me reject the thought, which was pretty quick with me in the beginning. The cure was not vacant, but it was not then served. Mr. de la Rochefoucault † had the possession of it, but at that time he was in Poitou. No day passed but that I writ three or four times to the Lady, and was answered as many times. I was often with her in the morning at the time she waked, that we might talk more freely about affairs. I knew that I might thereby reap many advantages, and I was not ignorant that there was no other way to make myself sure of the Prince of Conti for the time to come. Shall I tell you the whole truth? I perceived, as I thought,

* *There are here six lines scratched out.*

† *Francis de la Rochefoucault, then Prince of Marillac, and after his father's death, Duke de la Rochefoucault.*

thought, a possibility of winning the Lady: the strict friendship I profess for the husband was the only thing that weighed down with me what was suggested both by pleasure and by policy. * - - - - -

I entered however into a great commerce of affairs with the Dutchesse de Longueville, and by her means with Mr. de la Rochefoucault, who came back from Poitou three weeks or a month after this correspondence was begun. He made the Prince of Conti believe that he served him in the passion he had for his sister, and in concert with her, he blinded the Prince to a degree that above four years after he suspected nothing at all of their doing.

Mr. de la Rochefoucault did not come off with much credit in the business of the Importants, and was accused of making his peace with the court at their expence. I have been since certainly informed that that was not true; but it being believed at that time, I was not very well pleased to find him in this society, which however I was forced to bear and make the best of. We concerted all our measures: the Prince of Conti, Madam de Longueville, the Duke her husband, and the Marechal de la Mothe, were to stay at Paris, or to declare themselves if it was attacked. Broussel, Longueil, and Viole, promised every thing in the name of the parliament, that knew nothing of it. Mr. de Retz † was the intermedler between them and Madam de Longueville, who went at that time with the Prince of Conti to drink the waters of Noisi. As for the Duke de Bouillon, his engagement was with me alone, and he would by no means be named to any one else. I saw him pretty often in the night time, when the Dutchesse de Bouillon was always present. Had that Lady had as much sincerity, as she had wit, beauty, politeness, and virtue, she had been accomplished every way. I was much taken with her, but finding not the least room to hope for any thing, that lasted not long, and I believe that I had spoken more properly if I had said that I fancied that I was much taken with her.

After I had taken such measures as I thought proper for our defence, it came into my head to oblige the court, if it was possible, not to carry things to an extremity. You will easily perceive how beneficial that design was, and you will find how possible it was to bring it to pass, when I have acquainted you that its coming to nothing was only owing to the obstinacy of the minister, who would not agree to a proposal, that had been

* *There are here four lines scratched out.*

† *Brother to the Cardinal.*

been suggested to me by Launai-Gravai, and which even with the parliament's consent, had supplied, at least in a great measure, the funds which that company had retrenched. That proposal, (the particulars of which would be too long and too tedious) was debated at Viole's, where Le Coigneux and many others of the parliament were present. It was approved of, and had the minister been wise enough to accept it heartily and sincerely, I am persuaded that it might have sustained all necessary expences, and that there had been no civil war.

When I found that the minister would not accept what was even for his advantage, but after his own mode which was never good, I bent all my thoughts upon doing him what harm I could, and it was but from that moment that I took a full and firm resolution to attack him personally. I came to that resolution, because finding that we could not hinder him from attacking us, I thought that it would be wise for us to attack him ourselves, by some previous steps that would give among the public an ill turn to his attack.

It may be said with very good ground that that minister's enemies had against him an advantage very singular and hardly to be met with against persons in his post. The power of which they are masters, preserves them commonly from any tincture of ridicule. But ridicule was prevalent in the Cardinal, because he said foolish things, which is not common even to those that act foolishly in the like posts. Marigni* came at that time very opportunely from Sweden, and having given himself in some sort to me, I let him loose upon him. The Cardinal had asked Bouqueval, a deputy of the Great Council, if he should not think himself obliged to obey the King, in case he should forbid him to wear his band without bandstrings? That comparison, you see, was silly enough to prove a blind obedience, to deputies of sovereign courts. Marigni paraphrased that saying both in prose and verse, for a month or five weeks before the King left Paris, and the effect that paraphrase had can hardly be conceived. I took hold of that instant to make that ridicule appear detestable, which makes the most dangerous sort of compound and the hardest to be remedied.

You have already seen that the court had undertaken to authorize the loans by their declaration, that is, that they had, properly speaking, undertaken to authorize usury by a law verified in parliament, because no money was lent to the King (for example on the Tallies) but upon an exorbitant usury. My dignity obliged me not to

* *James Carpentier, alias Marigni, was of Nevers, and became famous at that time for his lampoons.*

to suffer so scandalous, so general, and so public an evil, and I discharged my duty as to that very exactly and very fully. I called an assembly of the most notable among the curates, the canons, the doctors of Sorbonne, and the regulars; and without so much as mentioning the name of the Cardinal in all our conferences, (where on the contrary I seemed to take a special care to spare him) I made him pale in a week's time for the most extorting Jew that was in Europe. The King removed from Paris just at that time, and I had notice given me of it at five in the morning by the Queen's Steward, who caused me to be waked, and who gave me a letter under the Queen's own hand, wherein she commanded me in very civil terms to be at St. Germain's within that day. The Steward added by word of mouth that the King was that moment got into his coach, and that the whole army was ordered to advance. My answer to the Queen was, that I would not fail to obey, which you may be sure I did not intend to do.

Presently after this, Blancmesnil came into my chamber as pale as death. He told me that the King was marching to the parliament with eight thousand horse. I assured him that he had left the town, and had no more than two hundred horse with him. This is one of the least of all the impertinencies which I heard from five in the morning till ten. I never was during that while without a procession of scared people that thought themselves undone. But they afforded me more diversion than uneasiness, because I had every moment notice given me of what past, by officers of my own. I learned that the people, at their first hearing of the King's removal, were seized with rage, to which fear never succeeds but by degrees, and which I thought I might prevent before it was night. For though the Prince of Condé, who mistrusted his brother the Prince of Conti, had got him to rise and to go along with him to St. Germain's, I made no doubt but that he would quickly come back, because the Dutchesse de Longueville was left at Paris, and because I knew that the Prince of Condé, who neither esteemed nor feared his brother, would not carry his mistrust so far as to arrest him. I had besides received the day before a letter from the Duke de Longueville, dated at Rouën, wherein he assured me that he would be in Paris the evening of the same day on which the King left the town.

The King was no sooner gone, but the citizens of their own accord and without any orders seized on the gate of St. Honoré; and as soon as the Queen's Steward had left me, I sent Brigalier word to make himself master with his company of that of the conference. The parliament assembled at
the

the same time in a tumultuous manner, caused by their consternation; and I do not know what they might not have done, considering the fright they were in, if means had not been found to make use of their own fears to encourage them. It is what I have observed a thousand times: there are some sorts of fears that cannot be overcome but by greater fears. I desired Vedeau, a counsellor whom I sent for, to inform the company that there was at the Town-house a letter from the King, whereby he acquainted the Prevost-des-Marchands, and the Echevins, with the reasons that had obliged him to remove from his good city of Paris, the substance of which reasons were, that some members of his parliament, held intelligence with the enemies of the kingdom, and that those persons had even conspired to make sure of his person. The hearing of this, and the knowledge they had that the President le Feron, who was Prevost-des-Marchands, was altogether a dependant of the court, inflamed the whole company so far as to send that very moment for the letter. They immediately gave out an arrest for the citizens to take up arms; for the city gates to be guarded; for the Prevost-des-Marchands and the civil Judges to provide about keeping a passage for provisions to come in; and for their meeting the next day to deliberate upon the King's letter. You may perceive by this interlocutory order, that the parliament's fright was not yet quite over, but I was not troubled at their irresolution, because I knew very well that in a little time I should have wherewithal to support and invigorate them.

Being persuaded that the first step of disobedience, made at least publicly, should in prudence proceed from the parliament; that particular persons might thereby be screened, I thought it necessary to find out a colour for my want of respect to the Queen in not going to St. Germain. I ordered my coach to be got ready; I took my leave of all my friends; I shewed a wonderful firmness in rejecting all the instances whereby they would have obliged me to stay; *and by an * accident that seemed to be an effect of chance*, I met at the end of Nôtre-Dame street, Du Buillon, a wood merchant, whose credit was very great among the bridge people. That man was altogether at my disposal, but he appeared at that time to be very angry. He beat my postillion and spoke menacing words to my coachman. A multitude of people
came

* *The French says, And by a remarkable piece of good fortune. But the whole paragraph shews that it was a concerted thing.*

came to his aid. They threw down my coach; and the women of the New-market crying and roaring, made use of a stall to bring me home upon. You guess I dare say in what manner this proof of my obedience was received at court. I wrote letters to the Queen and to the Prince of Condé, that expressed my grief for succeeding so ill in the attempt I had made. The Queen received my letter, which I sent by the Chevalier de Levigné, with haughtiness and scorn. As for the Prince of Condé, he could not refrain shewing his anger, at the time that he pitied me. La Riviere expressed his zeal against me by his railleries; and the Chevalier de Levigné could clearly see that they were all of them persuaded that they should have us the next day with a halter about our necks. I was not much troubled upon that account, but I was extremely vexed when I heard that very day, that the Duke de Longueville, coming from Rouën, where he had been for ten or twelve days, and hearing upon the road that the King had left Paris, instead of coming thither himself as he had promised, was gone to St. Germain to the King. That step of his persuaded the Dutchess his wife, that the Prince of Condé had brought him over to his side, and that consequently the Prince of Conti must be under an arrest. Upon the hearing of this, the Marschal de la Mothe declared to her in my presence, that he would do without exception whatever the Duke de Longueville did, either for or against the court. The Duke de Bouillon taxed me for the ill conduct of all these persons, who (as I had assured him a thousand times) were to have acted quite contrary to what they now did. I leave you to judge of the trouble I was in, which was still the greater, because Madam de Longueville was all this while telling me that she had had all that day no manner of news from Mr. de la Rochefoucault, who went for St. Germain two hours after the King, with an intent to fortify the Prince of Conti and to bring him back to Paris. St. Ibal pressed me again at that time to send him without any longer delay to the Count de Fuenfaldagne. But I could not agree with him in that point, and I chose rather to send the Marquis de Noirmoutier, who had for some time joined himself to me, to St. Germain, to learn by his means what might be expected from the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville. Madam de Longueville approved of it, and Noirmoutier went that same day about six in the evening.

The next day, which was the seventh of January, La Sourdiere, Lieutenant of the Life-guards, came to the parliament in the morning, and gave the King's Council a

lettre-

lettre-de-cachet directed to them, whereby they were ordered to declare to the company, that the King's command was that they should remove to Montargis * and there expect his orders. La Sourdier brought likewise a packet sealed up for the parliament, and a letter for the first President. As it was an easy matter to guess, by what the King's Counsel were directed to declare, what the contents of the other letters were, it was thought more respectful not to open them, because the parliament resolved before hand not to obey. The packet and the letter were therefore delivered back unopened to La Sourdier, and the parliament resolved to send the King's Counsel to St. Germain's, to assure the Queen of their obedience, and to supplicate her Majesty that they might be permitted to clear themselves of the calumny, which had occasioned the letter writ the day before to the Prevost-des-Marchands. But to preserve a little the dignity of the company, they likewise resolved that the Queen should be most humbly supplicated to let them know who the calumniators were, that they might be proceeded against according to the rigour of the ordinances. The truth is, that it was with much pain that this last clause was added, the whole company being in such a consternation, that when Broussel, Charton, Viole, Loisel, Amelot, and five more, whose names I do not remember, proposed to ask in due form for the removal of Cardinal Mazarin, they were followed by no others, and were even treated as hot and passionate men. You must observe that in that juncture there was no other appearance of safety for the company than by acting vigorously, and I never saw a time in which they acted with so much weakness. I had run up and down all the night long, and could obtain no more than the clause which I have mentioned.

The Chamber of Accounts received the same day a *lettre-de-cachet*, that ordered that company to remove to Orleans; and the Grand Council, one to remove to Mantes. The Chamber of Accounts made haste to send remonstrances. The Grand Council offered to obey, but the city refused them passes. You may easily conceive in what condition I was all the day long, and I may truly say that I had never before past a day that had appeared so terrible, though I have met with others since, worse than that. I saw the parliament upon the point of yielding, and I found myself consequently necessitated

* A town in the Gastinois, a small country adjoining to the province of Beausse.

used either to undergo, along with it, the most shameful yoke, and even the most perilous, as to my own particular; or to set up myself singly and purely for a tribune of the people, which is the most unsafe and even the lowest part that can be chosen, whenever a sufficient force does not support it.

The weakness which the Prince of Conti had shewed, by suffering himself to be led away like a child by the Prince his brother; that of the Duke de Longueville, who instead of coming to Paris to hearten those he had engaged with, was gone to offer his services to the Queen; and the declaration that the Duke de Bouillon and the Marechal de la Mothe had made, were strokes that had much enfeebled my pretended office of tribune. But Cardinal Mazarin's imprudence gave it a new strength. He caused the Queen to refuse to give audience to the King's council, who came back to Paris, that same evening, fully convinced that the court's intent was to carry matters to extremities.

I spent the whole night in seeing my friends. I shewed them my informations from St. Germain, which were that the Prince of Condé had assured the Queen that he would take Paris in fifteen days time; and that Mr. le Tellier, who had been the King's Attorney at the Châtelet, * and who for that reason ought to be well acquainted with the matter, offered to pass his word that the want of provisions for two market days only would suffice to furnish the town. By these means, I brought every body to believe that there was no room left for an accommodation, which was in reality but too true.

The King's council reported the next morning to the parliament how they were refused an audience. It was then that every body grew in some sort desperate, and that they gave with a general consent, (except that of Bernai, who was a better cook than a counsellor) that famous arrest of the eighth of January, whereby Cardinal Mazarin was declared an enemy to the King and to the state, and a disturber of the public peace, and whereby all the King's subjects were enjoined to fall upon and seize him.

A general assembly at the Town-house was held in the afternoon by the deputies of the parliament, and by those of the

* A place where is held a court of judicature called the Presidial, where affairs of small moment are determined without appeal. What is called the Little Chatelet is a strong place to keep prisoners in.

the Chamber of Accounts, and of the Court of Aids; together with the Duke de Montbazon, Governor of Paris, the Prevost-des-Marchands, with the Echevins, and the six corporations of merchants. It was there agreed that the Prevost-des-Marchands and the Echevins, should give out commissions for the raising four thousand horse and ten thousand foot. The same day the Chamber of Accounts, and the Court of Aids, sent deputies to pray the Queen to bring the King back to Paris: the city sent likewise deputies to the same effect. But they being still persuaded at court that the parliament would yield, because they had heard nothing yet of their last arrest, the Queen received the deputies with much haughtiness; and the Prince of Condé, in her presence, expressed even a mighty passion against the parliament, in what he said to Amelot, first President of the Court of Aids. The Queen's answer to these deputies was, that neither the King nor she would ever go back to Paris till the parliament was gone from thence.

The next day, which was the ninth of January, the city received a letter from the King, commanding the magistrates to cause the parliament to obey, and to remove to Montargis. Mr. de Montbazon, accompanied by Fournier, who was first Echevin, and by four counsellors of the Town-house, brought the letter to the parliament, protesting at the same time, that they would receive no orders but from that company, who made that morning the necessary fund for raising the troops. In the afternoon another general assembly was held, in which the several corporations of the city, with all the Colonels and Captains of the several wards, took an oath of union for the common defence. I leave you to judge how well satisfied I was with this state of things, which left me no more room to fear that I should be abandoned. You will still be more convinced of it, when I have told you that the Marquis de Noirmoutier gave me notice the next day after his arrival at St. Germain, and assured me, that the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville were extremely well inclined, and had come before now to Paris, had they not thought to have made their retreat from court the safer by making their appearance there during some days. Mr. de la Rochefoucaut wrote to the same effect to Madam de Longueville.

You must now without doubt think this affair in a mighty good way. However, you will be forced to own that the same ill star that has thrown rubs in all the ways through which I have passed, was pleased at this time, when every

thing seemed to run so smooth, to raise against me one of the greatest obstacles and troubles I ever met with.

The afternoon of this same day, which was the ninth of January, the Duke de Brisac, who had married my cousin,* but with whom I had but very little commerce, came to my house, and said to me with a smile: 'We are of the same party; I am come to serve the parliament.' I thought, when I heard this, that the Duke de Longueville, who was a near relation of his wife's, might have engaged him; and to be the better informed, I sounded him about it, but without opening myself in the least, I found that he knew nothing either of the Duke de Longueville's or of the Prince of Conti's designs. The occasion of his coming was his being ill satisfied with Cardinal Mazarin, and still worse satisfied with the Mareschal de la Meilleraie, his brother-in-law.* His design therefore was, to seek for some advantage in a party where he thought that his being allied to me might be of some use to him. After half a quarter of an hour's conversation, looking out at a window and seeing my coach getting ready: 'O Lord! said he, do not go out; Mr. d'Elbeuf † will be here in a moment.' 'What to do?' replied I; is he not at St. Germain's? 'He was there (said he gravely) but finding nobody that would give him a dinner, he is come to seek for a supper here. He swore to me above ten times, from the Pont-de-Neuilly, where I met him, to the Croix-du-tiroir, where I left him, that he would act in a much better manner than his cousin the Duke de Mayenne did in the time of the league.' I leave you to judge what trouble this put me into. I durst not discover to any body that I expected the Prince of Conti, and the Duke de Longueville, for fear that that might occasion their being arrested at St. Germain's. I saw a Prince of the House of Lorraine (a name ever pleasing to those of Paris) ready to declare himself, and consequently ready to be declared General of our forces, that were without one, and that wanted one extremely. I knew that the Mareschal de la Morthe, who always mistrusted that uncertainty so natural to the Duke de Longueville, would not take one step till he had seen him; and it was plain to me that the Duke d'Elbeuf's presence, which in regard to his probity

mult

* *Mademoiselle de Retz, the Cardinal's former mistress.*

† *The Mareschal de la Meilleraie had married the Duke de Brisac's sister.*

‡ *Charles of Lorraine, second of the name, Duke d'Elbeuf.*

must necessarily fill with suspicion every one that knew that gentleman, would but confirm the Duke de Bouillon in the reasons he had to do nothing till the Prince of Conti came. I saw no remedy near at hand. The Prevost-des-Marchands was, at the bottom, altogether for the court, and that I knew for certain. The first President was not tied to the court so much like a slave as the other was, but I knew however that he inclined that way. Supposing besides, that I could have relied never so much upon them, what good could I expect from them at a time when the incensed people wanted nothing but an object to take hold of and stick close to; and when they would have treated as liars and traitors those that had spoke against Mr. d'Elbeuf, at least in public; though that Prince had inherited from his predecessors nothing considerable but their affability of manners, which in this juncture was just what I had most to dread. To compleat all, I could not be positive that the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville would come so soon as they had promised. I had wrote the day before by a kind of misgiving, to this last, that I begged of him to consider how precious every instant was, and how dangerous the least delay, though ever so well grounded, was, at the beginning of all great affairs. But I was well acquainted with his irresolution. Besides, supposing that they both had come now never so soon, they had not come till after a man the most artful in the world, who would not fail to give their coming a colour, able to throw distrust in the people's minds, which it was easy enough to do, considering that one was the Prince of Condé's brother, and the other his brother-in law. I had, it is true, for my comfort, perhaps two instants, or at most a quarter of an hour, to take my resolution. That time was not yet expired, when Mr. d'Elbeuf came to me, and made use in what he said of all that the cajoling manners of the House of Guise could suggest to him. I saw his three children at his back, who spoke not altogether with so much eloquence as the father, but who seemed to me to have well learnt their lesson. I returned their civility by a great shew of respect, and by making use of all the ways that might best cover my game. Mr. d'Elbeuf acquainted me, that he was that moment going to the Town-house, to offer his services. I represented to him, that, in my opinion, he would oblige the parliament more by addressing himself first to them the next day in a full assembly of the chambers. But he stuck close to his first resolution, though he had assured me but one moment before, that he would be guided by me in all things.

He was no sooner gone than I wrote word to Fournier, the first Echevin and my friend, to engage the Town-house to advise Mr. d'Elbeuf to address himself first to the parliament. I wrote likewise to the *Curates* * that I most relied upon, to make use of the priests who officiated under them, to sow distrust among the people, upon account of the union that had appeared betwixt Mr. d'Elbeuf and the Abböt de la Riviere. I ran up and down a-foot, and in disguise, all the night long, to represent to those of the parliament, to whom I durst not open myself about the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville, that they ought not to trust themselves in the hands of a man so much cried down as Mr. d'Elbeuf was, in relation to his probity, and who had already given a shrewd sign of his inclinations towards their company, by addressing himself first to the Town-house, no doubt with a view of dividing them from the parliament. You have seen how I had advised Mr. d'Elbeuf to address himself first to the parliament, which I had done with a design only to gain time. But finding that he rejected that advice, I now made use of the steps he took to incense against him those to whom I spoke, which I did with some success. But my time was too short to see many people. Besides I observed amongst those I saw, that though I could work upon their understandings, it was not so easy for me to do so upon their hearts, because of the pressing necessity there was of a general to command the forces. In short, I must own that I was much perplexed, and so much the more because I was well informed, that Mr. d'Elbeuf neglected nothing that was for his interest. The President le Coigneux, who had been on very ill terms with him whilst they were both with the Duke of Orleans at Brussels, but whom Mr. d'Elbeuf thought now his good friend, shewed me a letter from him, which he had wrote some moments before he came to my house, wherein I read these words: *I must go to the Coadjutor to do him homage; in three days time he must do the like to me*: the letter was signed, *The bosom Friend*. But I had no need of this proof to be convinced that he did not love me. There had been formerly a misunderstanding between us, and I had desired him a little roughly to hold his tongue at a ball at Madam de Perroché's, because it seemed to me as if he designed to put a jest upon the Count de Soissons, whom

* The word Curate in French, signifies the parson of a parish, who has the cure of souls.

he hated much, because they were at that time both in love with Madam de Montbazon.

After I had run up and down the town till two in the morning, I came home, almost resolved upon declaring myself publicly against Mr. d'Elbeuf, upon accusing him of holding intelligence with the court; and by getting the people to take up arms, either upon securing him, or obliging him to leave Paris. I knew that my credit with the people was great enough to undertake this with a probability of success: but it must be owned that it would have been carrying things to a great extremity, by reason of an infinite number of circumstances, but chiefly because of the commotion that this must occasion, which could not be little in a town that was invested, and invested by a King.

As I was revolving all these different thoughts in my mind, which you may think was in no little agitation, a servant told me, that the Chevalier de la Chaize, belonging to Mr. de Longueville, was at my chamber door. As he came in he said aloud to me; 'Rise, Sir, the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville are at the gate of St. Honoré, and the mob refuses to suffer them to come in, bawling out, that they come with an intent to betray the city.' I made haste to rise, and as I went along, I took old Broussel with me, and being lighted by eight or ten flambeaux, we came to the place. The street was already so full of people, that we could hardly get through, and it was broad day-light before we could cause the gate to be opened, because of the mistrust they were in, which can hardly be expressed; so that much time was spent before we could remove their fears. But our haranguing them did it at last, and so we brought the Prince of Conti and Mr. de Longueville to the Hôtel de Longueville.

I went to Mr. d'Elbeuf presently after, with a design of making him a compliment, which certainly would not have been pleasing to him; for it was to propose to him not to go to the parliament, or at least not to go thither but with the Prince and the Duke, and not till after having concerted with them what was best to be done for the good of the party. The general distrust which the people preserved for any thing that had the least relation to the Prince of Condé, obliged us to manage these first moments with a great deal of gentleness. What perhaps had been easy the day before, had been impossible and even pernicious the next morning, and the name of the house of Condé was so terrible, that that same Mr. d'Elbeuf, whom I thought myself able to drive out of Paris on the ninth, had in all likelihood made me quit that town

town on the tenth, had he followed the right course. But as soon as I saw him miss the moment which we took hold of to get the Prince of Conti into the town, I made no doubt (knowing that the people were for us in the bottom) but that I might lead them in a little time wherever I pleased; but that little time was however requisite. My advice therefore was (and there was no other good one) to keep fair with Mr. d'Elbeuf, and to let him see that he might find it worth his while to unite with the Prince de Conti and with the Duke de Longueville. What makes me believe that that proposal had not been pleasing to him, as I was just now saying, is, that instead of staying for me, as I had sent to desire him, he went to the parliament. The first President, who was against the parliament's being removed to Montargis, but who likewise was against a civil war, received Mr. d'Elbeuf with open arms. He hastened the Assembly of the Chambers, and notwithstanding what Broussel, Longue Blancmesnil, Viole, Novin, and le Coigneux, could say, he got Mr. d'Elbeuf declared General, with an intent, as the President de Mesmes, who pretended to have been the first adviser of this, has since owned to me, of creating a division in the party, tho' not great enough in his opinion for hindering the court from coming to a better temper, yet able to weaken the faction, and to make it the less dangerous and the less lasting. That project has ever seemed to me to be one of those notions very fine in speculation, but impossible to be put into practice; mistakes in these cases being besides always very dangerous.

Not meeting with Mr. d'Elbeuf at home, and hearing from those whom I had charged to watch his motions, that he was gone to the parliament, whereupon the Assemblies of the Chambers had been hastened, it was easy for me to guess at the rest. This made me come back with all diligence to the Hotel de Longueville, to oblige the Prince and the Duke to go likewise immediately to the Parliament. The Duke was never in haste, and the Prince being fatigued with the ill night he had passed, was now in bed. It was with the greatest pain in the world that I could persuade him to rise; and finding himself ill, as he really was, he spent so much time about it, that before he had done we had notice sent us of the parliament's being up, and of Mr. d'Elbeuf's being gone to the Town-house to take the usual oaths there, and likewise to take care of the distribution of the commissions that were to be given out. You may easily conceive how uneasy this made us. Our uneasiness had however been still greater,

greater, if, by missing his first opportunity, Mr. d'Elbeuf had not left me room to hope, that he would not make a right use, even of the second. Fearing however that the success he had had that morning might serve to encourage him, I was of opinion, that we ought not to give him too much time to look about him, and that made me propose to the Prince of Conti to go to the parliament in the afternoon, to make there an offer of his person, but to do it in such terms as might be explained either more or less favourably as he should feel the pulses to beat in the Grand Chamber, but still more as I should feel them myself to beat in the Court-hall, where, under pretence of my having as yet no seat in the parliament, I intended to stay to have an eye to the people.

The Prince of Conti came in my coach, without any men in livery but my own, which were many, and consequently made us to be seen and observed a great way off. This was pretty necessary on this occasion, and hindered not at the same time the Prince of Conti from shewing the citizens the trust he reposed in them, which was no less necessary. *There is nothing wherein caution is more requisite, than in what regards the people, because nothing is more unruly: but that caution is no where to be hid with so much care, because nothing is so distrustful.* We came to the parliament before Mr. d'Elbeuf; they cried upon the stairs as we went up to the hall, *Long live the Coadjutor*; but nobody cried, *Long live the Prince of Conti*, except those whom I had posted there for that purpose. By that, and by the world of people Paris is able to furnish in occasions of this nature, it was easy for me to perceive, that the people, amongst whom I had many of my side, were not generally well cured of their distrust; and I must own, that I was very glad when I had got the Prince from the Court-hall safe into the Great Chamber.

Mr. d'Elbeuf came one moment after, followed by all the town-guards, who had accompanied him since morning as their General. The mob on all parts cried aloud, *Long live his Highness the Duke d'Elbeuf*; and they crying at the same time, *Long live the Coadjutor*; I advanced towards him, and with a mighty gay countenance, I said; *This echo, Sir, resounds high in my honour*: to which he answered, *You are too civil*; upon which, turning himself to the guards, he bid them wait at the door of the Grand Chamber. I took that order to be likewise for myself, and there I waited with those whom I might best rely on, who were a good number. Every one being seated in the parliament, the Prince of Conti spoke
to

to them, and said, 'That having taken notice at St. Ger-
 mains of the pernicious counsels given to the Queen, he
 thought himself obliged, by his being a Prince of the
 Blood, to oppose them: you may guess at what he added
 to that. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who like all weak men when they
 think themselves the most powerful, was proud and haughty,
 said, 'That he knew the respect he owed the Prince of
 Conti, but that he could not forbear saying, that it was he
 that had broke the ice, and had first offered his services to
 the company; and that the company having done him the
 honour to intrust into his hands the General's staff, he
 would not quit it but with his life.' The generality of the
 parliament, who like the people entertained a distrust against
 the Prince of Conti, applauded that declaration, which Mr.
 d'Elbeuf failed not to set off with all the paraphrases so na-
 tural to his stile. Touchepreze, Captain of his guards, a man
 of sense and courage, enlarged upon it in the Court-hall.
 The parliament rose, after having given an arrest, enjoining
 the King's forces not to approach Paris within twenty
 leagues, upon the same penalty as in cases of high treason, so
 I found that I must content myself for this day with bring-
 ing the Prince of Conti safe back to the Hôtel de Longue-
 ville. The crowd was great, and I was almost obliged to
 take him up in my arms at his coming out of the Grand-
 chamber. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who thought himself now master
 of all, said to me in a bantering manner, hearing the people
 in their huzzas mix sometimes his name with mine; *This
 echo, Sir, resounds high in my honour*: to which I replied,
You are too civil; but with an air more gay than that he spoke
 in; for tho' he thought his affairs in a very good way, I
 immediately judged, when I perceived that he had again
 missed this second opportunity, that mine would quickly be
 upon a better foot than his. *Credit among the people, when
 it has been long nursed up and cultivated, never fails, if
 once it has taken any root, to flist those slight and weak de-
 monstrations of public love, which sometimes a mere chance
 will produce.* You will see that in this I judged altogether
 right.

At our coming back to the Hôtel de Longueville, I found
 Vincerot, a captain in the regiment of Navarre, who had been
 bred up a page to the Marquis de Ragni, father to Madam de
 Lesdiguières. That Lady sent him to me from St. Germain,
 where she then was, under pretence of demanding some pri-
 soners, but in reality to give me notice, that Mr. d'Elbeuf, an
 hour after the Prince of Conti's and the Duke de Longue-
 ville's

ville's arrival at Paris, had wrote to la Riviere these very words: 'Tell the Queen and the Duke of Orleans, that that devil of a Coadjutor ruins all here, and that in two days time my credit will be at an end: but that if they are willing to offer me advantageous terms, I shall convince them that I am not come to Paris with so ill an intent as they imagine.' La Riviere shewed this to the Cardinal, who laughed at it, and gave it the Marechal de Villeroi to read. I made an admirable use of this information, and knowing that all that has an air of mystery works more effectually upon the people, I whispered this as a secret to four or five hundred persons. About nine at night the Curates of St. Eustache, of St. Roch, of St. Merri, and of St. John's, sent me word, that the trust which the Prince of Conti had placed in the people, in going along with me in my coach, without any attendants of his own, and in exposing his person in the hands even of those that exclaimed most against him, had had an excellent effect. I likewise received, about ten, above fifty informations from the officers of the several wards, acquainting me with the success that they had had, whereby the disposition of the people was sensibly and visibly altered. I set Marigni to work betwixt ten and eleven, when he made that famous song, the original of all Triolets, * upon Mr. d'Elbeuf and his children, which you have heard Caumartin sing so many times. We went betwixt twelve and one, Mr. de Longueville, the Marechal de la Mothe, and myself, to Mr. de Bouillon, whom we found in bed ill of the gout,

H 5

and

* A song of five verses, the first of which is repeated after the third, and the first and second are repeated after the fifth. Marigni revived them at that time, and they were equally made use of by both parties, to ridicule one another. I have not met with that upon Mr. d'Elbeuf, which is mentioned here, but remembering one made at that time upon Mr. de Bouillon, it will perhaps oblige some of the readers to have it inserted here.

Upon Mr. de Bouillon.

*Le brave Monsieur de Bouillon,
Est fort travaille de la goutte;
Il est vaillant comme une lion,
Le brave Monsieur de Bouillon;
Mais s'il faut rompre un bataillon
Et mettre une armee en deroute,
Le brave Monsieur de Bouillon,
Est fort travaille de la goutte.*

and full of difficulties about declaring himself, by reason of the uncertainty in which things were. We shewed him our plan, and how easy it was to execute it. He took the matter right, he joined with us, and we concerted measures together. I myself gave to the Colonels and Captains that were my friends, their several orders. You will better conceive our project when I shall mention its execution, which I will enlarge upon after I have made this further remark, that the most dangerous push which I gave Mr. d'Elbeuf in all these motions, was making the people believe, by means of the parish priests, who believed it themselves, that he held intelligence with the King's forces, who the ninth in the evening had made themselves masters of the post of Charenton.* He met me upon the stairs going to the Town-house, just at the time that this rumour was spreading about; and speaking to me; 'Can you believe, said he, that there are people wicked enough to publish, that it is by my directions that Charenton has been taken?' 'And can you believe (replied I) that there are villains great enough to say, that the Prince of Conti is come hither in concert with the Prince of Condé his brother?' I come now to the execution of our project.

Finding the minds of the people well enough disposed, and well enough cured of their distrust, not to espouse Mr. d'Elbeuf's interest, I thought that there was no more need of so much caution, and that a great show would be as requisite this day, as modesty was the day before.

The Prince of Conti and Mr. de Longueville made use of a large and magnificent coach belonging to the Dutches of Longueville, and were followed by a great number of attendants. I was seated by the Prince at one of the boots of the coach, and we marched along slowly to the parliament. Mr. de Longueville went not thither the day before, because I thought, that in case of a commotion, a greater respect would be shewn to the tender years of the Prince of Conti, and to his being Prince of the Blood, than to the person of Mr. de Longueville, whom Mr. d'Elbeuf stood most in fear of. Besides, Mr. de Longueville not being a Peer, had no seat in parliament, and it was necessary to agree first what seat he should have, which was given him above that of the eldest Counsellor, on the other side of the Dukes and Peers. He began his speech by offering his services to the company, with

* A village near Paris, where the Protestants had a church allowed them.

with the cities of Rouën, Caën, and Dieppe, and with the whole province of Normandy; and for surety of his promise, he desired that the company would approve of the Dutchess his wife, with his son and daughters taking their lodgings at the Town-house. You may easily judge of the good effect this proposal had. It received still a greater strength and a greater approbation by the arrival of the Duke de Bouillon, who came in supported (because of his gout) by two gentlemen. He seated himself below the Duke de Longueville, and, as we had agreed upon in the night, he insinuated in the speech he made, that he would readily serve the parliament under the command of so great a Prince as the Prince of Conti was. Mr. d'Elbeuf was fired at this word, and he repeated what he had said the day before, that he would not quit, but with his life, the staff of General in chief. A murmuring arose upon this, and Mr. d'Elbeuf shewed in the contest that his wit was greater than his judgment. He said nothing to the purpose. It was now no longer time for him to contest, there was a necessity of yielding: but I have observed, *That weak men never yield at the time they ought to do it.* We then gave him the third stroke by the Marechal de la Mothe's appearing at that instant, who seated himself below Mr. de Bouillon, and who made the company the same compliment that the other had done. We had concerted together not to let these several actors appear at once upon the stage, but that they should come in one after another, because we had considered, that, *nothing touches and moves the common people, and even companies who hold a near resemblance to them, so much as a variety of spectacles.* We were not mistaken in this, and these three scenes that followed one another, had an effect beyond comparison, quicker and greater than if they had been united in one. Mr. de Bouillon, who had before been of another opinion, was now convinced that we were in the right, and he owned it to me before we left the parliament.

The first President, who was a man all of a piece, persisted in his opinion, which was to make use of this contest for weakening the faction: so he proposed leaving the matter undecided till the afternoon, that there might be time for an accommodation. The President de Mesnes, who was at least as well inclined for the court as he, but who was a man of a greater reach and of larger views, whispered him in the ear, and said (but not so low but that I heard him), 'Are you in jest, Sir, or do not you consider, that they possibly might agree at our cost? But they are farther off of an agreement.'

agreement than you think. Do not you perceive that Mr. d'Elbeuf is made a fool-of, and that the others are masters?' The President le Coigneux whom I had opened myself to the night before, raised his voice and said, 'We must make an end before dinner, were we not to dine till midnight: let us speak in private to these gentlemen.' He desired at the same time the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville to step into the fourth Chamber of Inquests, which one goes into directly from the Grand-chamber; and the Presidents de Novion and de Bellievre, who kept intelligence with us, carried Mr. d'Elbeuf, who appeared still mighty angry, into the second chamber of Inquests. Finding affairs under a compromise, and no likelihood of any danger in the Court-hall, I went away with all the haste I could to fetch Madam de Longueville and Madam de Bouillon, with their children, and I brought them with me to the Town-house in a kind of triumph. The small-pox, as I have said before, had left Madam de Longueville all her lustre, though it had taken away some of her beauty. That of Madam de Bouillon, though a little obscured, was still extremely shining. Let your fancy represent to you these two ladies upon the steps of the Town-house, appearing with a better air, because they seemed but carelessly dressed, though indeed they were not so. They each of them held one of their children, in their arms, lovely as the mothers were. The Place de Greve was full of people to the very top of the houses, and whilst the women were shedding tears out of tenderness, the men were expressing their joy by their loud acclamations. I flung five hundred pistols from the Town-house windows, and having left Noirmoutier and Miron with the ladies, I went back to the parliament, and I arrived there with an innumerable croud of people, both armed and unarmed.

Touchepreze, Captain of Mr. d'Elbeuf's guards, who had sent people to observe me, was gone a little before I came back, to give notice to his master, who had staid all this while in the second chamber of Inquests, that he was a lost man, if he did not come to an accommodation. This was the cause that I found him extremely troubled, and even dejected. But he was much more so when the President de Bellievre, who had amused him designedly all this while, asked what was the meaning of the drums beating? for I answered him, that he would quickly hear another sort of noise, and that all honest men were weary of the division that was attempted to be made in the city. I was convinced at that instant that in great affairs the head signifies nothing without the heart. Mr. d'Elbeuf
ceased

ceased to keep even any outward appearances. He explained ridiculously all that he had said; he yielded to more than was required of him; and nothing but Mr. de Bouillon's good sense and good manners preserved him, jointly with Mr. de Bouillon himself, and with the Marechal de la Mothe, the rank of General; all three being to serve as such under the Prince of Conti, who at that instant was declared Generalissimo of the King's forces, under the orders of the parliament.

This is what passed the 11th of January in the forenoon; Mr. d'Elbeuf in the afternoon summoned the Bastille, that commission being given him as a kind of sweetening; and at night a scene passed at the Town-house, which it is necessary to give you an account of, because it was followed by much greater consequences than it deserved. Noirmoutier, who the day before was made Lieutenant-general, went out of Paris with five hundred horse to drive back the skirmishers of the troops, which among us, we called Mazarinians, who came to our very suburbs. As he came back he alighted off his horse at the Town-house, and came with his armour on, and with him Matha, Laiguis, and la Boulaie, into Madam de Longueville's chamber, which was full of Ladies. This mixture of blue scarves, of ladies, of men with armour on, of fiddlers that were in the hall, and of trumpets that were without, made up a spectacle which is oftener seen in romances than any where else. Noirmoutier, who was a great admirer of Astrea,* said to me, I fancy us all now besieged in Marcilly. You are in the right, replied I; and Madam de Longueville may very well be compared to Galathea; but la Rochefoucault [she was at that time called Prince de Marillac, the Duke de la Rochefoucault his father being still living] is not so gallant a man as Lindamore was. Turning back at these words I perceived little Courtain at a window by us, and near enough to over-hear me. I never could learn positively whether he did so or no, but I could never ascribe to any other cause the first hatred which Mr. de la Rochefoucault bore to me.

I know that you love characters, and I am sorry for that reason that I have been able hitherto to give you none but indirectly, and by consequence but imperfectly. I thought that I had not room enough to represent my chief actors, in the porch, from whence you are but just come out, and where you have seen but light sketches of the preludes of the civil war. We are now entering into the gallery, where you are to see the figures at length of most of the persons whom

in
* A romance writ by the Marquis d'Urfe, and one of the best of the kind.

in the sequel of this work you will see acting. You will judge by these characters, and by the particular strokes which I have tried to distinguish each of my actors by, whether or no I have given their true resemblances. I shall present you first with the Queen's character, it being just to begin with her.

The Queen had more, than any body whom I ever knew, of that sort of wit which was necessary, for her not to appear a fool to those that did not know her. She had in her more of harshness than of haughtiness; more of haughtiness than of greatness; more of outward appearance than reality; more regard to money than liberality; more of liberality than of self-interest; more of self-interest than disinterestedness: she was more tied to persons by habit than by affection: she had more of insensibility than of cruelty; she had a better memory for injuries than for benefits; her intention towards piety was greater than her piety; she had in her more of obstinacy than of firmness; and more incapacity, than of all the rest which I have mentioned before.

The Duke of Orleans, excepting courage, had all that was necessary to make a fine gentleman. But as he wanted every thing without exception, that distinguishes a great man, he found nothing in himself that could supply his want of courage, and be a support to his weakness. As that weakness had mastered his heart by means of his fear, and his mind by means of his irresolution, it stained the whole course of his life. He came into all the factions, because he wanted power to resist those who drew him in for their own interest: but he never came off of any but with shame, because he wanted courage to support himself whilst he was in them. This shadowing obscured in him, from his youth, colours which otherwise would have appeared most lively, and would have shone most naturally, in a bright and knowing mind, in a graceful sprightliness, in intentions that were good, in a compleat disinterestedness, and in an incredible easiness of manners.

The Prince of Condé was born a General, which never happened but to Cæsar, to Spinola, and to himself. He has equalled the first: he has surpassed the second. Intrepidity is one of the least shining strokes in his character. Nature had formed him with a mind as great as his courage: fortune, in setting him out in a time of wars, has given this last a full extent to work in his birth, or rather his education in a family devoted and enslaved to the court, has kept the first within too straight bounds. He was not taught time enough the great and general maxims, which alone are able to form men to think always consistently. He never had time to learn them of himself, because he was prevented, from his youth,

by

by the great affairs that fell unexpectedly to his share, and by the continual success he met with. This defect in him was the cause, that with the soul in the world the least inclined to evil, he has committed injuries; that with the heart of an Alexander, he has like him had his failings; that with a wonderful understanding he has acted imprudently; that having all the qualities which the Duke Francis * of Guise had, he has not served the state in some occasions, so well as he ought: and that having likewise all the qualities of the Duke Henry † of Guise, he has not carried faction so far as he might. He could not come up to the height of his merit, which, though it be a defect, must yet be owned to be very uncommon, and only to be found in persons of the greatest abilities.

Mr. de Longueville, besides that he bore the fine name of Orleans, was endowed with vivacity, agreeableness, magnificence, liberality, justice, valour, greatness; and yet he could never come up to be a great man, because he carried his views infinitely beyond his capacity. Capacity without any views, signifies nothing: great views without capacity signify but little, and keep men in a state of mediocrity.

Mr. de Beaufort had not so much as any idea of great affairs; his intention only turned him towards them. He had heard the Importants talk of them, and he had retained a little of their jargon. That jargon, mixed, with the expressions which he had most exactly learned of the Dutchess of Vendôme, his mother, formed a language ‡ that would have disfigured the good sense of a Cato. As for Mr. de Beaufort's sense, it was both short and heavy; and so much the more so, because it was darkened by his presumption. He thought himself a skilful man, and that made him appear inclined to artifice, because it was easy at first sight to perceive that his share of wit was too little to make him so. He was brave in his person, and more so than one would expect of a vain-glorious man, which he was in every thing, without exception; but never more, than in what related to his gallantries. He thought
and

* Francis of Lorraine, second Duke of Guise, defended the city of Metz against the Emperor Charles the fifth, and did many other great actions. He was reckoned the bravest man of his time.

† Henry the first, son to Francis, who in concert with his brother the Cardinal, was the first author of the league against Henry the third.

‡ He spoke like the very meanest of the mob, which gave occasion, when he became so great with them, to the saying; That a King ought to speak the language of his subjects.

and spoke like the people, of whom he was for some time the idol. You will see the reason why.

Mr. d'Elbeuf had courage, only because it is impossible for a Prince of the house of Lorraine not to have any. He had all the wit that a man is capable of; who has much more of art than good sense. Nobody was able to speak finer nonsense than he. He was the first Prince whom poverty brought into contempt; and perhaps never man had less than he the art of making himself pitied in his misery. Poverty left him, but without raising him up; and if he had lived to be rich, he had been envied like a partisan, so well was beggary fitted and made for him.

Mr. de Bouillon was a gentleman of tried valour and of profound sense. By what I have observed of his conduct, I am persuaded that they have wronged his reputation that have cried it down. I do not know whether some have not favoured his merit, in thinking him capable of all the great things which he has not performed.

Mr. de Turenne had from his youth all manner of good qualities, and he has acquired betimes the great ones. He has missed none but such as he thought not of. All manner of virtues almost, were in some measure natural to him: he never had the glittering of any. He was thought fitter to be at the head of an army than of a party; and I think so too, because he was naturally not venturesome: however, who is sure of it? He always had in his manner of speaking, and in the rest of his actions, something dark, which nothing but proper opportunities could bring to light; but that was never brought to light, but to his credit.

The Marechal de la Mothe was a man of great courage: he was a General of the second class; and as for his sense, that was but of the second size. His usual commerce was agreeable and easy enough, and his being very tractable made him very useful in a party.

I had almost forgot the Prince of Conti, which is as good a sign for the head of a party. I think I cannot better describe him to you than by saying that * - - - -

This head of a party was a cypher that multiplied only because he was a Prince of the blood. This part of his character relates to the public. As for his private character, malice did in him what weakness did in the Duke of Orleans. It drowned all his other qualities, which besides were but mean, and had all of them a mixture too of weakness.

There

* *There are here five lines scratched out.*

There has always been something mysterious in Mr. de la Rochefoucault. He was inclined to meddle with state intrigues from his youth, and at a time when he had no attention for little concerns, which never was his weak side; nor any knowledge of great ones, the managing of which, on the other hand, was not his talent. He never was fit for any manner of affairs, and I cannot tell why, for he had qualities which would have supplied in any other, those which he wanted: *

He could not extend his views far enough, neither could he even perceive all at once what was within its reach. But his good sense, excellent in a speculative way, added to his sweetness, his engaging way, his easiness of manners, which was admirable, ought to have recompensed, more than it did, his want of penetration. He ever had an habitual irresolution, to which it is impossible for me to ascribe a cause. It could not proceed from the fertility of his imagination, which is far from being quick; neither could it come from a sterility of judgment; for though in what relates to action his cannot be said to excel, yet in the main, his understanding is good. But though the cause is unknown, the effects of that irresolution are seen. He never was fit for war, though an excellent soldier; neither was he ever of himself a good courtier, though he had always a great inclination to be so. He never was a good party-man, though all his life long engaged in parties. That timorous and bashful air which he now appears with, was in the time of affairs altogether turned towards making of apologies, which he ever thought himself in need of. This, added to his maxims, in which he expresses too little belief of virtue, † and to his practice which made him always come off of affairs with the same haste he came into them, makes me conclude that he had done much better to have known himself, and to have been content to pass, as he might have done in the common way of life, for the politest and the finest gentleman that has appeared in that age.

Madam de Longueville has a great store of natural wit, and, which is still more, has been at the pains of refining that wit, and giving it a turn. Her capacity, which has not been

* *There are here two lines scratched out.*

† *The Duke de la Rochefoucault has writ, besides his Memoirs, a book of maxims, which attributes the best actions of men to a principle of self-love.*

been helped by her laziness, could never reach so far as to affairs, which her hatred against the Prince of Condé, her brother, carried her into, and in which her gallantries have kept her. She had a languishing air that touched the heart, more than the vivacity even of women more beautiful than she was. She had even a certain indolence of mind which had its charms, because she was now and then awaked out of it by starts of fancy, surprisingly fine. She had had but few defects, if she had not contracted many by her gallantries. As her prevailing passion suffered politics to take but the second rank, from the heroine of a great party, she became in some measure the common mistress of it. But what the world could not restore her to, grace has done.

Madam de Chevreuse * had not even any remains of beauty when I first knew her. I never saw any but her, in whom vivacity supplied the want of judgment. She had pretty often such bright flashes of that vivacity, that it appeared like lightning; but she managed it so discreetly, that the greatest men in all ages had not been ashamed of its effects. However that merit was but occasional. Had she lived at a time when there had been no factions, she had not so much as thought there could be any. If the Prior of the Carthusians had pleased her, she had retired from the world very sincerely. The Duke de Lorraine, † who became her lover, brought her into affairs: the Duke of Buckingham § and the Earl of Holland ‡ kept her in that same road; Mr. de || Chateaufort made them her amusement. She plunged herself into affairs as she did into every thing that pleased him she loved; and she loved without choice, and purely because she was necessitated

* *Mary de Rohan, daughter to Hercules de Rohan, Duke of Montbazon, was born in the year 1600. She married in 1617, Charles d'Albert Duke of Luynes, and Constable of France; and in 1621, she took for her second husband Claude de Lorraine, Duke of Chevreuse. She died in August, 1679.*

† *Charles, fourth of the name, Duke of Lorraine and of Bar, who died in 1675.*

§ *George Villars, Duke of Buckingham, &c. Killed at Portsmouth by Felton.*

‡ *Richard, Earl of Holland, (younger brother to the Earl of Warwick) beheaded in the time of the rebellion. For him and Buckingham, see my Lord Clarendon's history.*

|| *Charles de l'Aubespine, Marquis de Chateaufort, who had been Lord-keeper in Richlieu's time, whose disgrace he incurred, and was kept in prison for a long time.*

cessitated to love. It was not even difficult to put upon her any lover one designed: but when once she had accepted of him, she loved him sincerely and intirely. I remember her owning to Madam de Rhodes and me, that, a whim which she attributed to chance, she never loved best, him whom she esteemed most; excepting however, added she, poor Buckingham. Her being devoted to her passion, in which she might be called constant, though she changed objects, did not hinder but that the least thing diverted her from it: but she came always to it again with transports that made her distractions appear agreeable. No person was ever less attentive to danger, and never woman had a greater contempt for what is called scruple and duty: she knew of no other duty but that of pleasing her lover.

Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, * who had more of beauty than of gracefulness, was naturally simple even to the making her appear ridiculous. Passion gave her wit, even of a serious and agreeable sort, for the man she loved exclusively of all others. But she soon treated her lovers as she did her gowns, which she put in bed by her whilst they pleased her, and two hours after burnt them out of mere aversion.

The princess Palatine † esteemed gallantry, and loved no less what is substantial in it. I do not believe that Queen Elizabeth of England had a greater capacity than she, for the governing a state. I have seen her amidst factions, I have seen her of the cabinet council, and have found her every where equally sincere.

Madam de Montbazon was extremely beautiful, but wanted a modest air. Her stateliness, and her cant, might have supplied, in times more calm, her want of wit. She was little to be trusted to in her amours, not at all in affairs. She loved nothing so much as pleasure, except interest. I never knew a person who has, amidst her vice, preserved so little respect for virtue.

If it was not a kind of blasphemy to say, that there has been any body in this age more intrepid than the great Gustavus Adolphus, and the Prince of Condé, I would say that it was the first President, Molé. It is true, that his understanding did not come up by much to the height of his courage.

* Charlot-Mary, daughter to the Dutchess of Chevreuse by her second husband.

† Ann de Gonzagues, daughter to Charles Duke of Mantua, married Edward of Bavaria, prince Palatine of the Rhine.

courage. Not but that there was betwixt them a sort of resemblance; but in respect to the understanding, it was not a handsome one. I have already told you that he was irregular in his language, and that is certain: but he had a sort of eloquence, which, though it shocked the ear, seized upon the mind. He sought the good of the state preferably to all things, even to that of his family; though he seemed to love his family too much for a magistrate. But his genius did not reach high enough to let him see betimes the good which he might have done. He presumed too much upon his power, by fancying that he could bring both the court and his company to a right temper. But he succeeded in neither, and made himself suspected by both; and so was the cause of ill with good intentions. His prepossession contributed much to that. In every thing he carried it to extremes, and I have even observed, that he always judged of actions by men, and never, or at least very seldom, of men by their actions. Having been brought up from his infancy in the forms of the courts of justice, whatever went out of that road became suspicious to him. There is hardly any disposition more dangerous, in those that meet with affairs where the common rules ought to be laid by.

The share, though small, that I had in the transactions of those times, might perhaps permit me to add here my own character. But besides the difficulty there is of knowing one's self sufficiently to know one's own picture truly, I own, that I find so great a satisfaction in leaving that work only and entirely to you, by submitting all my actions to your judgment, that I dare not so much as undertake to form within my own mind the least sketch of that character. I re-assume the thread of my narration.

The powers relating to the Generals having been regulated in the manner I have mentioned, the next work was to find out necessary funds for the levying and subsisting the troops. All the several companies and bodies joined together about it, and Paris brought forth, without any pain, a complete army in a week's time. The Bastille* surrendered, after having suffered, only for form's sake, the firing of a few guns. The spectacle was pleasant enough to see the women at that famous siege, carry their chairs to the garden belonging to the arsenal where the battery was, as they do to a sermon.

Mr.

* A royal castle in Paris, built by Charles V. where prisoners of state are detained.

Mr. de Beaufort, who since his escape from the Bois-de-Vincennes had been lurking from house to house in the Vendemois, arrived that day at Paris, and went to lodge at Prudhomme's. Montresor, whom he had sent for as he entered the town-gate, came to me with a compliment from him, and to tell me that he would be at my house within a quarter of an hour. I prevented him, and went to Prudhomme's, where I did not find that his imprisonment had added any thing to his sense, though it had to his reputation. It is certain that he bore that imprisonment with constancy, and made his escape from it with courage. It was even a merit with him not to have quitted the borders of the Loire, at a time when it certainly required skill and courage to keep there. It is no hard matter to set off, at the beginning of a civil war, the merit of those that are on ill terms at court; that alone is a great merit. Mr. de Beaufort had some time before charged Montresor to assure me that he should be very glad to enter into measures with me; so having had time beforehand to consider the use I might put him to, I had now and then, in an unaffected manner, caused reports to be spread among the people, that were to his advantage. I had adorned, with a thousand flourishes, an attempt of the Cardinal's against him, undertaken by du Hamel. Montresor, who informed him exactly of what I did in his favour, had by this means disposed all necessary matters towards the forming a strict union betwixt us. You will easily believe that that union was not disadvantageous to him, considering my credit with the party; and it was necessary to me in some sort, because being like in a thousand rencounters to be embarrassed by my profession, I wanted a man whom upon occasion I might set up in my room. The Marechal de la Mothe had such a dependance upon the Duke de Longueville, that there was no relying upon him. Mr. de Bouillon was not a man that would be governed. It was a tool I wanted, and a tool only; and by good fortune it happened that the tool I met with, was grandson to Henry the Great; that he spoke the language of the market-women, which was extraordinary for one of that noble blood; and that besides, he wore fair long hair. You can hardly imagine of what weight these circumstances were, nor how they took with the people.

We came out together from Prudhomme's to wait on the Prince of Conti. We sat both together at one boot of the coach, and we caused the coach to stop in the streets of St. Dennis, and of St. Martin. I shewed the people the Duke de Beaufort, I named him by his name, and spoke in his commendation.

menation. The fire took in less than an instant. All the women kissed him, and the crowd became so great, that without exaggeration it was with difficulty that we could get to the Town-house. The Duke presented the next day a petition to the parliament, whereby he asked leave to purge himself of the attempt with which he was charged against Cardinal Mazarin's person, which was granted, and done the following day.

Mr. de Luines* and Mr. de Vitri† arrived at Paris at that time, in order to join themselves to the party; and the parliament issued out that famous arrest, wherein it was ordered that all the King's money in the several receivers hands throughout the kingdom, should be seized upon, and made use of for the common defence.

On the other hand, the Prince of Condé took up his several quarters. He posted the Marechal du Pleffis‡ at St. Dennis; the Marechal de Grammont at St. Clou; and Pallau,§ who has been since Marechal de Clerembaut, at Seve. The natural activity of that Prince was still wonderfully stirred up by the passion he was in against the Prince of Conti and Mr. de Longueville, for their declaring for the parliament. That raised such a distrust in the court, that Cardinal Mazarin not doubting but that the Prince of Condé acted in concert with them, was upon the point of leaving the court, and was not put in heart again till he saw the Prince come back to St. Germain's from the quarters where he was gone to give his orders. At his coming back, he seemed transported with rage, chiefly against Madam de Longueville, to whom the princess Dowager of Condé her mother, who was at St. Germain's, wrote a letter the next day to inform her of that particular. I read in the letter these words concerning myself: 'They are here so exasperated against the Coadjutor, that I am forced to speak of him in that same dialect with the rest. I cannot however help thanking him for what he has done for the poor Queen of England.'§ That circumstance is founded upon a fact as extraordinary as it is curious.

Five

* *Lewis-Charles d'Albert, Duke de Luines, son to the Dutchesse de Chevreuse, by her first husband.*

† *Francis Marie de l'Hopital, Duke of Vitri.*

‡ *Cesar, Count du Pleffis-Praslin, Duke of Choiseul, Marechal of France.*

§ *Philip of Clerambaut, Count de Pallau, was made Marechal of France in 1653.*

§ *Henrietta-Maria, wife to King Charles the First.*

Five or six days before the King removed from Paris, I went to visit the Queen of England, whom I found in her daughter's chamber, who hath been since Dutcheſs of Orleans. At my coming in, ſhe ſaid: 'You ſee, I am come to keep Henrietta company. The poor child could not riſe to-day for want of a fire.' The truth is, that the Cardinal for ſix months together had not ordered her any money towards her penſion; that no trades-people would truſt her for any thing; and that there was not at her lodgings in the Louvre one ſingle billet. You will do me the juſtice to think that the Princeſs of England did not keep her bed the next day for want of a faggot; but however, you will think likewiſe, that it was not this which the Princeſs of Condé meant in her letter. What ſhe ſpoke about was, that ſome days after my viſiting the Queen of England, I remembered the condition I had found her in, and had ſtrongly repreſented the ſhame of abandoning her in that manner, which cauſed the parliament to ſend 40,000 livres to her Maſteſty. Poſterity will hardly believe that a Princeſs of England, grand-daughter to Henry the Great, hath wanted a faggot in the month of January to get out of bed, in the Louvre, and in the eyes of a French court. We read in hiſtories, with horror, of baſeneſs leſs monſtrous than this; and the little concern I have met with about it in moſt people's minds, has obliged me to make, I believe, a thouſand times, this reflection: *That examples of times paſt move men beyond compariſon, more than thoſe of their own times. We accuſtom ourſelves to what we ſee, and I have ſometimes told you, that I doubted whether Caligula's horſe being made a Conſul, would have ſurprized us ſo much as we imagine.*

The party having received its form, there was nothing wanting now but the eſta bliſhing of a cartel for the exchange of priſoners, which was done without any kind of negotiation. A Cornet of my regiment, being taken priſoner by a party of that of la Villette's, was carried to St. Germain, where the Queen ordered his head to be immediately ſtruck off. The great Provost * of the Hôtel, who foreſaw the conſequences, and who was a pretty good friend of mine, gave me notice of it, and I ſent immediately a trumpet to Palluau, who commanded the quarters at Seve, with a letter very eccleſiaſtical; but wherein I ſhewed the inconveniences that were to follow, which were the nearer, becauſe we had likewiſe priſoners on our hands, and among others Mr. d'Olonne,

* Or Judge in Ordinary of the King's Houſhold.

d'Olonne,* who was taken in a footman's dress, just as he was escaping.

Palluau went that moment to St. Germain, where he represented the consequences of that execution. It was with great pain that they could obtain from the Queen a reprieve till the next day; but in the mean time they made her comprehend the importance of the thing, and so my Cornet was exchanged, and the cartel was established insensibly.

I will not trouble you with the whole detail of the siege, which commenced the 9th of January 1648-9, and was raised on the first of April following, I shall content myself to mention only some of the most considerable days. But before I come to that, I think it necessary to speak of two or three things that deserve some reflection.

The first is, That there was not the least stirring in Paris in all that time, though all passages of rivers were stopped by the enemy, whose parties were besides continually harrassing us on the land side. It may even be said, that the town, during the siege, was under no inconveniences; and I may add, that no signs of fear appeared there, except on the 23d of January, and on the 9th and 10th of March, when people in the markets were somewhat startled; and a small spark of commotion was seen among them, caused rather by the covetousness and malice of the bakers, than by the want of bread.

My second observation is, That as soon as Paris had declared itself, the whole kingdom was in a commotion. The parliament of Aix, who had caused the Count d'Alais, the Governor of Provence, to be arrested, entered into an union with that of Paris. The parliament of Rouen, whither Mr. de Longueville went upon the 20th of January, did the like. That of Thoulouse was upon the point of following that example, and was hindered from the doing it, only by hearing of the conference at Ruel, which I shall mention by and by. The Prince d'Harcourt †, who is at this day Duke d'Elbeuf, got into Montreuil, which he was Governor of, and declared for the parliament: Rheims, Tours, and Poitiers, took up arms in its favour. The Duke de la Trimouille ‡ levied troops publicly for that interest. The Duke de Retz offered the parliament his services and Belle-Isle. The province of Mans drove away their Bishop and the whole house of Lavardin, for their

* *Lewis de la Trimouille, Marquis de Royan, and Count d'Olonne.*

† *Charles of Lorrain, the third of the name.*

‡ *Henry de la Trimouille, Duke of Thouars.*

their too strict union with the court; and Bourdeaux said only to declare itself till they had received the letters which they knew the parliament of Paris had wrote to all the sovereign courts, and to all the cities in the kingdom, inviting them to unite with them against the common enemy; these letters to the city and parliament of Bourdeaux, were intercepted on the side of Guienne.

My third observation is, That for the three months time that the siege lasted, and during which the parliament never failed meeting every morning, and even sometimes in the afternoon; they most commonly treated of nothing there but of such trifling and frivolous matters, as might have been determined every sitting in a quarter of an hour's time, by two deputies. The matters that employed them most, were the advices which they received at every instant, of either goods or money that was pretended to be hid at Partizans, * or at courtiers houses. Of a thousand such advices not ten had a foundation. That fondness for little matters, and that obstinacy not to depart from their usual forms, in affairs that were directly opposite to form, made me perceive betimes, that companies which are ordered for establishing tranquillity, can never be proper for war. I now come to the detail.

On the 18th of January 1648-9, I was admitted into the parliament, there to sit and vote in the absence of my uncle; and in the afternoon we signed at Mr. de Bouillon's a writing, whereby we all engaged to stand by one another. The persons that signed, besides myself, were Messieurs de Beaufort, de Bouillon, de la Mothe, de Noirmoutier, de Vitri, de Brisac, de Maure, de Matha, de Cugnac, de Barriere, de Silleri, de la Rochefoucaut, de Laigues, de Sevigny, de Bethune, de Luynes, de Chaumont, de St. Germain d'Apchon, and de Fiesque.

The 21st of that same month, the remonstrance in writing, which the parliament had ordered to be presented to the King, when they gave their arrest against Cardinal Mazarin, was read, approved, and published. It was full of grievous charges against that Minister, and served properly but for a manifesto, because they refused receiving it at court, upon pretence that the parliament (which they had suppressed as being in rebellion) had no longer a right of acting in a body.

The 24th, Messieurs de Beaufort and de la Mothe, went upon an enterprize which they had formed upon Corbeil, but were prevented by the Prince of Condé, who threw some troops into that town.

* *Farmers of the King's revenues.*

The 29th, Mr. de Vitri went with a party of horse to fetch his Lady, who was coming from Coubert to Paris. He met in the valley of Fescamp some troops belonging to the garrison of the castle of Vincennes, which he drove back to the very castle gates. Tancrede † the pretended son of the late Duke de Rohan, ‡ who had the day before declared for us, was unhappily killed in this small rencounter.

The first of February, Mr. d'Elbeuf put a garrison in Brie-comte-Robert, to favour the passage of the provisions that came to us out of Brie.

The 8th of that same month, Talon, one of the King's counsel, proposed to the parliament the making some advances towards the Queen, as a mark of their respect and duty; which proposal was seconded by the first President, and the President de Mesmes. But it was rejected by the whole company, even with great clamours and cries, because it was thought to have been contrived jointly with the court. I am of another opinion; but I own that it was unseasonably and indecently moved, because not one of the Generals was present, which made me strongly oppose it.

The evening of that same day, Clanlieu, whom we had posted at Charenton with 3000 men, had notice given him that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé were marching to him with 7000 foot, 4000 horse, and some cannon. I had at the same time the like notice sent me from St. Germaine.

Mr. de Bouillon, whom the gout kept in his bed, thought not that post tenable, and his advice therefore was, to withdraw the troops from it, and to keep only the middle of the bridge. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who loved Clanlieu, and who believed this occasion a means to make him purchase honour very cheap, because he gave no credit to the notice that had been sent, was of another opinion. Mr. de Beaufort was willing to shew his valour. The Marechal de la Mothe believed (as he has owned to me since) that the Prince of Condé would not venture that attack in sight of our forces, considering how advantageously they might be posted. The Prince of Conti (as it is usual to all weak persons) followed the most noisy side. Clanlieu was ordered to make good his post, upon promise of being joined with the forces at break of day, which was not done. It was excessively long before the troops could

be

† The parliament of Paris by an arrest of the year 1646 declared him an impostor.

‡ Henry, the second of the name.

be got out of Paris,* and it was seven in the morning before they were in order of battle upon the rising ground at Fescamp, tho' they had begun to file off at eleven o'clock at night. The Prince of Condé attacked Charenton at break of day, and took it; but he lost there Mr. de Châtillon, who was a Lieutenant-general in his army. Clanlieu was killed there, having refused quarter. We lost in that action eighty officers, and the Prince of Condé had not above twelve or fifteen of his men killed. Our army was beginning their march, when they perceived that of the Prince upon two lines on the other side of the hill. Neither army was willing to begin an attack, because of the valley that was between them, and of the disadvantage of them that should move first. They did nothing all day long but skirmish, or look upon one another. Noirmoutier, by means of these skirmishes, detached 1000 horses without being perceived by the Prince, and went himself with them towards Estampes, to guard a great convoy of all manner of live cattle which was assembled there. 'Tis to be observed, that people hastened to Paris from all the provinces, because money was plenty there, and that from all parts they were equally bent upon its defence.

The 10th, Mr. de Beaufort and Mr. de la Mothe sallied out to favour Noirmoutier's return, and met with the Marechal de Grammont in the plain of Ville-juiſve, who had with him 2000 of the guards, both Switz and French, and 2000 horse. Nerlieu, a younger brother of the house of Beauveau, and a good officer, who commanded Mazarin's horse, coming to the charge, was killed by Mr. de Beaufort's guards, at the gate of Vitri. Brionne, father to him with whom you are acquainted, took away by force Mr. de Beaufort's sword. The Mazarinians lost ground, and even the foot-guards were in some fright, the pikes of their battalions mixing together with a clashing, which is always a sign of disorder. However, the Marechal de la Mothe made a halt, being unwilling to expose the convoy, which began to appear, to the uncertain issue of a battle. The Marechal de Grammont retired, and the convoy came safe to Paris, accompanied, I believe, by above 100,000 men, who were gone out of Paris upon the news that Mr. de Beaufort was engaged.

I 2

The

* Joli says, That on this occasion, the Coadjutor went out armed with the troops, to shew that the character of a priest was not incompatible with that of a brave man. Vide Joli's *Memoirs*, [Dublin Edition] vol. I. page 33.

The 11th, Brillac, a Counsellor of the Inquests, and a man in repute with the parliament, said in a full assembly of the Chambers, that it was time to think of a peace? that the citizens began to be weary of the charge of subsisting the army; that all at last would fall on the parliament; that he knew for certain, that a proposal for an accommodation would be very agreeable to the court. Aubri, president in the Chamber of Accounts, had spoke in that same sense the day before, in the council held at the Town-house; and you will see presently, that they made use at St. Germain's of the credulity of these two men, the first of whom had no talent but in affairs relating to the law, and the second no talent for any thing: that they made use of them, I say, at St. Germain's to cover an enterprize that was made upon Paris. The parliament came to great heats about the proposal: the contests on both sides lasted long, and it was at last resolved that it should be put to the vote the next day.

On that day, which was the 12th of February, Michel, that commanded the guard at the gate of St. Honoré, came to acquaint the parliament, that a herald with his coat of arms on, and accompanied by two trumpets, was come to the gate, and asked to speak to the company, being the bearer of three packets, one for them, one for the Prince of Conti, and one for the Town-house. They were then just about sitting, and were all busy in talking of what happened the night before at eleven o'clock, in the Market-halls, where the Chevalier de la Valette* had been taken up, as he was spreading injurious libels against the parliament, but much more so against me. He was brought to the Town-house, where I met him, as I was coming down stairs from Madam de Longueville's chamber. I knew him extremely well, and for that reason I behaved myself civilly to him, and I caused a great number of people that were using him ill to retire. But I was much surprized when, instead of returning my civilities, he said with a haughty tone, 'I fear nothing: I am serving my King.' My surprize indeed about his behaviour lessened when the libels were shewed me, because compliments could not have agreed with them. I had five or six hundred of them that were found in his coach put into my hands. He continued speaking haughtily to me, but that did not make me alter my manners; I expressed my concern for the misfortune that had happened to him. The Prevost-des-Merchands sent him prisoner to the Conciergerie.† This adventure
that

* A bastard of the house of Epernon.

† The prison belonging to the parliament.

that had already shewed no great signs of the court's good disposition towards a peace, of which Brillac and the president Aubri had bragged to have so good an information, together with the apparation of a herald, who seemed as it were dropped from the sky, just at that nick of time, were but too certain proofs that there was a design in hand. The whole parliament saw it as plainly as the rest did; but the whole parliament was likely to act as if they did not see it, because in ordinary proceedings they are so much tied up to their forms, that in extraordinary ones they do not know how to depart from them, nor how to separate them from what is substantial.

'This herald must be looked to: he does not come without a design: there are too many circumstances that hang one upon another. We are amused by proposals: persons are sent to spread libels about in order to stir up the people: the next day a herald appears; there must be some mystery in this.' These were the words of those of the parliament. But they added, 'What must we do in the mean while? Shall a parliament refuse to hear a herald sent from their King, when an herald was never refused a hearing coming from an enemy?' In this manner did every body speak, with this only difference, that some tuned their voices higher, and some lower. Those of the court party spoke as loud as ever they could; those against the court spoke more softly. The Prince of Conti and the Generals had a message sent them, whereby they were desired to come and take their seats in the parliament; and while some staid for them in one of the chambers, some in another, I took old Broussel aside, and I opened to him an expedient which came into my head not above a quarter of an hour before the court sat.

My first view, when I found the parliament disposed to give the herald entrance, was to cause all the troops to take up arms, and to line all the streets thro' which he was to pass, and in so thick a manner, that though it looked like an honour done him, it might prevent, as much as possible, the people from seeing him, and altogether from hearing him speak. My second view was the best. Broussel was one of the oldest Counsellors of the Great Chamber, and as such opened always one of the first. I advised him to say, that he wondered that they should be at any stand in this case: that they had but one way, which was to refuse the giving audience, and even entrance to the herald, because heralds were never sent but to enemies or to equals; that the sending a herald to them, was but a gross artifice of Cardinal Mazarin's, who thought thereby to blind the parliament and the town to a degree

a degree that might induce them, under pretence of obedience, to act in the most disrespectful and criminal manner. Old Broussel, who was struck with the force of this argument, though there was nothing in it but a very slight appearance, pushed it on even till tears ran down his cheeks. It moved the whole company: they all conceived that no other answer could be given. The President de Mesmes, who would have alledged the examples of five and twenty or thirty heralds sent from Kings to their subjects, was repulsed and hissed at, as if he had said the thing in the world the most ridiculous. Those that voted against it could hardly be heard; it passed, that the herald should be refused entrance, and that the King's counsel should be charged to acquaint the Queen with their reasons for that refusal. The Prince of Conti and the Town-house made use of the same pretence to refuse the hearing of the herald and the receiving his packets, which he left the next day upon the rail of the gate of St. Honoré. This accident, and the taking up of the Chevalier de la Valette, were the causes that the resolution agreed upon the day before of deliberating upon Brillac's proposal, was quite forgot and laid aside. It occasioned only jealousies about these faint appearances of an accommodation; but the minds of people grew much more exasperated some days after, when the particulars of that enterprize came to be known. The Chevalier de la Valette, a man of a dark and desperate mind, but withal very brave, and fit to undertake any thing, had formed the design of killing Mr. de Beaufort and me upon the stairs of the Parliament-hall. He was to have made use for that purpose of the disorder which so extraordinary a sight as that of the herald would, as he expected, occasion in the city. The court has always denied the fact as to the attempt against our lives; but as to the libels, they owned what they had done, and they reclaimed him. What I know most certainly is that Cohon, Bishop of Dole, told the Bishop of Aire two days before, that we should not live three days longer; and in the same conversation he mentioned the Prince of Condé as a man to whom it was not fit to intrust every thing, because he was loth to decide. But that I have judged that the Prince was not let into the bottom of the Chevalier de la Valette's design, and I have always forgot to speak to him about it.

The 19th, the Prince of Conti acquainted the parliament, that a gentleman sent from the archduke Leopold, Governor of the Low Countries for the King of Spain, waited at the Serjeant's Bar, desiring an audience of the company. At these last words of the Prince of Conti's, the King's counsel came

came in to give an account to the company of what they had done at St. Germain, where they had been admirably well received. The Queen had liked extremely the reason which had obliged the company to refuse the herald entrance, and she had assured the King's counsel, that though the state of things hindered her from acknowledging the parliament's resolutions, as if they were arrests that came from a sovereign court, she however received with joy the assurances which the company gave her of their respect and submission, which if they would but begin to make effectual, she would on her side give them the greatest marks of kindness, to all in general, and to every one in particular. Talon, who was Advocate-general, and who always spoke with force and with dignity, made that report to the company, and did it with all the necessary flourishes. He concluded his discourse by assuring the company, as from himself, in very moving terms, that if they would send deputies to St. Germain, they would meet there with a very kind reception, and that that might prove a very good step towards a peace. The first President, after this, acquainting Talon with the coming of a gentleman from the Archduke, that was waiting at the door of the Grand Chamber, Talon, who was a dextrous man, took occasion from thence to enforce what he had proposed.—He said, that it seemed to him as if Providence had offered this opportunity for them to express in a stronger manner still their loyalty to the King, by refusing to hear the envoy, and thereby letting the Queen know the respect they had for her. This apparition of an envoy from Spain to the parliament of Paris, is an uncommon scene enough in our French history, and I must therefore open it a little more to you.

You have already seen that St. Ibal, who kept correspondence with Fuenfaldagne, had from time to time pressed me to enter into the like measures, and I have acquainted you with the reasons that kept me from doing it. But when I found that we were besieged; that Cardinal Mazarin was sending Vautorte to Flanders, in order to begin some negotiations with the Spaniards; and that our party was well enough formed to prevent my being charged in particular with an union with the public enemy, I ceased being so scrupulous. I sent word to St. Ibal, who had left France, and who was sometimes at the Hague, sometimes at Brussels, that as matters stood I thought I might with honour hearken to proposals, if any were offered me, for the relief of Paris. I desired him however to contrive the matter so, that nobody should be sent directly to me, and that I might in nowise appear in what
should

should be made public. What engaged me to write to that purpose to St. Ibal, was what he himself had acquainted me with by the means of Montresor. For he sent me word, that the Spaniards, who knew that I was the only man in Paris that might be reckoned master of the people, and who saw me take no steps at all towards them, began to think that I was hindered from doing it by some regard I had for the court; and they putting no trust, in what related to Paris, in any of the Generals, they might be induced to hearken to the immense offers which were every day made them in Cardinal Mazarin's name. Madam de Bouillon had likewise let fall some words, by which I had discovered that she knew as much of that matter as St. Ibal did. So that in concert with the Duke and the Dutchess de Bouillon, I gave to St. Ibal the directions I just now mentioned. I insinuated likewise to him, in concert with them, that we should be glad that the scene might be opened by Mr. d'Elbeuf. This appeared to be the most natural way, because in Cardinal Richlieu's time Mr. d'Elbeuf had staid for twelve or fifteen years in Flanders, having a pension from Spain. That way was accepted of as soon as proposed. The Count de Fuenfaldagne sent the very next day Arnolfini, a Bernardine Monk, in the habit of a Cavalier, and under the name of Don Joseph d'Illescas. He came to Mr. d'Elbeuf at two in the morning, and gave him a credential letter that contained but a few words; which credentials the envoy explained in the manner which it will be easy for you to imagine.

Mr. d'Elbeuf now thought himself the most considerable man of the party; and coming the next day from the parliament, he carried us all to dine with him, that is, all that made a figure; telling us that he had something of great consequence to impart to us. The Prince of Conti, Mr. de Beaufort, the Marechal de la Mothe, the Presidents le Coigneux, de Bellievre, de Nesmond, de Novion, and Viole, were there. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who was naturally a great comedian, opened his speech by the tenderness he had for his dear country, and by his being so good a Frenchman that he had not the heart to open a small note, only because it came to him from a suspected place, the name of which was not discovered without many scruples and mysterious words. The President de Nesmond, who with all the fire of a Gascon was the simplest man alive, acted the second scene as naturally, as the other had acted the first artfully. He looked upon the letter, (which Mr. d'Elbeuf had thrown upon the table, sealed up again very neatly,) as he would upon the sacrifice that witches in their assemblies

assemblies are said to make to the devil. Mr. d'Elbeuf, he said, was much to blame to have called him and his brothers of the parliament to an act of that nature. At last the President le Coigneux being weary of these fooleries, took up the letter, which indeed looked more like a billet-doux than any thing else. He opened it, and having read the contents, which were nothing but credentials; having likewise heard from Mr. d'Elbeuf what the bearer of the letter had said to him, he then made a pantaloonnade worthy of the two first scenes. He ridiculed the affectation that had hitherto been used; he prevented our going on in the same manner, and so brought us all to a resolution, which was, not to reject the aid offered us by Spain. The difficulty was about the way of receiving it, and many particular circumstances rendered that difficulty indeed very great. Madam de Bouillon, who had discovered to me the day before her whole correspondence with Spain, had likewise explained Fuenfaldagne's intentions, which were to engage with us, provided that he was sure of our engaging in like manner with him. This engagement could be made on our side only by the parliament, or by myself. Fuenfaldagne doubted much that the parliament would engage, because he knew that the two heads of it, the first President and the President de Mesmes, would by no means hearken to any propositions. As for me, I had given him so little encouragement to treat with me, that he thought me as little to be depended on as the parliament. He knew how little Mr. d'Elbeuf's credit was, and how unsafe it was to rely on him. He knew that I had the disposal of Mr. de Beaufort, and besides, that his credit, by reason of his incapacity, was but a mere shadow. He could make nothing of Mr. de Longueville, nor of the Marechal de la Mothe, by reason of the perpetual wavering of the one, and of the small sense of the other. He looked upon Mr. de Bouillon as one indeed in whom he could confide; but Mr. de Bouillon could not have gained him Paris, where he had no manner of power: besides the gout * that kept him inactive, had given room to the court to render him suspicious to the people. All these considerations: which embarrassed Fuenfaldagne, and might easily have obliged him to turn his views towards St. Germain, where they were in the right to fear his joining with us: all these considerations, I say, could be restrained and turn to our good,

I 3.

only

* It was thought by a great many that his illness was often a counterfeit one. See, before, the Triolet made upon him on that account.

MEMOIRS OF THE

only by the parliament's making a treaty with Spain, which was impossible, or by an engagement from me with that crown, that should bind me altogether. St. Ibal, who remembered that he had formerly received instructions from me which tended to an engagement of that nature, made no doubt of my continuing still in the same disposition, since he saw me resolved to hearken to proposals; and though Fuenfalgagne was not of that opinion, he however gave it in charge to his agent to try me about it, and even to declare that Spain would do nothing for us, except I should first enter into that engagement. That agent, before his seeing Mr. d'Elbeuf, had had private conferences for two or three days together with the Duke and Dutchess of Bouillon, to whom he had plainly declared the directions he had, in what concerned me, and that had obliged Madam de Bouillon to speak to me, in the open manner she had done before, and to enter into more particulars than she had hitherto done. But the instructions I had formerly given St. Ibal, which the pressing necessity of being quickly assisted had at that time brought me to, were now out of date. No treaty now could be kept secret, which must necessarily be made jointly with generals, of which I suspected some, and dreaded others. I had observed that Mr. de la Rochefoucault had much altered Madam de Longueville's favourable sentiments, and the Marechal de la Mothe's vigour. I shall say nothing of Mr. d'Elbeuf. I considered Mr. de Bouillon supported by Spain, with whom his principality of Sedan naturally obliged him to have engagements, as another Duke of Mayenne, who would probably soon find his interest, in many occasions, different from that of Paris, and whose power might become great enough in a little time, by the aid of Spanish gold and Spanish counsels, to drive the Coadjutor out of Paris, as the Duke de Mayenne had done his great uncle, the Cardinal de Gondi, at the time of the league. In the conference I had with the Duke and Dutchess of Bouillon upon that matter, I kept none of my reflections hid from them, not even the last, which you may be sure however I took care to temper by giving it a turn of raillery, the gentlest and civilest I could. Madam de Bouillon, who never attempted to do or say any thing that tended to gallantry, but in concert with her husband, omitted in this occasion none of those airs which would have made her appear a most lovely woman, had she been as ugly as she was handsome; and all this to persuade me that by all means I ought to treat, and that the Duke her husband and I being joined together,

we

we should always be more than able to counterbalance our opposers.

Mr. de Bouillon, who entered into all my thoughts, and who knew very well that what I spoke was agreeable to my real interest, conformed himself of a sudden to my sentiments, being moved to it by a reason which ought to work the like effect on all people, though it does it but on very few. *I never knew but him who never confessed what he believed he could not obtain.* He came over to my opinion, even in a very obliging manner. He told Madam de Bouillon: 'That I acted as I ought to do in the post I was in; that the civil war might end the next day; that I was Archbishop of Paris for life; that none in this juncture had so great an interest as I, to save that city, but that my interest consisted as much in keeping myself afterwards united to it: but however, after having heard all that I had said, he thought that matters might be set to rights.' He then proposed a thing to me which I had not thought of before, and which at first I could not relish, though after some examination, I in my turn conformed myself in that to his sentiments. The thing was to oblige the parliament to give the Spanish agent audience, which would in some measure do our business as well as we could have wished. The Spaniards, who never dreamed of that, would be agreeably surprized; those of the parliament, without designing it, would find themselves engaged, and that would open a door to the Generals for entering into articles, which might be looked upon afterwards as having been tacitly approved of by that whole body: it would without doubt be an easy matter for Mr. de Bouillon, to convince the Spanish agent how much it was for his private advantage to be able to inform the Archduke by his next express, that the parliament of the peers of France had received a letter, and had given audience to an agent, sent by the King of Spain's General in the Low-Countries: that General would be made to understand, that prudence required that some one of the party should be left, who, even in concert with him, should seem to enter into no manner of measures with Spain, to be thereby enabled to ward off, in case of need, the inconveniences which a correspondence with the enemies of the state carried necessarily along with it, in a party where, in regard to the parliament, wiser measures ought to be taken in this point than in any other: that both my profession, and the post I held, made me fitter than any one else to act that part, and that by good luck, the public interest required it, as much as my private one. The difficulty lay in persuading the parliament

liament to give the Archduke's envoy audience, and yet nothing but that audience could balance with that envoy the want of my signing, without which he was not impowered, as he pretended, to do any thing. We threw ourselves in this occasion, Mr. de Bouillon and I, into the hands of fortune; and the example which was so fresh of the herald, who was refused audience upon the most frivolous pretence in the world, made us hope that it might be granted to this envoy, when many solid reasons would be found for his being heard.

Our Bernardine, who found that audience, which had not been so much as thought of at Brussels, to turn much to his account, was overjoyed at that proposal. He wrote about it to the Archduke in the manner that we could have wished, and he gave us his word that he would, before the answer came, act altogether as we should order him. He made use of these words, and no wonder at it, when he was ordered, as I have since learnt, to follow in every thing without exception, the Duke and Dutchess of Bouillon's advice.

In this state were things, when Mr. d'Elbeuf shewed us, as something very new, the letter that the Count de Fuensaldagne had wrote to him, and you may well judge that, without any manner of hesitation, I was for having the envoy to go in person to the parliament to present that letter. That proposition was at first looked upon as heretical; and, without any exaggeration, it wanted but little to be hissed at by the whole company. I persisted in my opinion, giving my reasons for it, which persuaded nobody. The President le Coigneux, who was the man there of the quickest understanding, taking notice of my mentioning now and then a letter writ by the Archduke, which nobody else had spoke of, sided with me of a sudden, but without telling me the true reason why, which was that he did not doubt but that I knew something underhand that had induced me to be of that opinion; and observing that the debate was carried on with pretty much confusion, and that we all disputed with one another standing, he said to me: 'Why do not you open yourself to your friends? We should all do as you would have us. I find that you know more of this matter than him that thinks to have been the first that has let you into it.' I own that I was extremely ashamed of my want of discretion; for it was pretty plain that his speaking to me in this manner, could proceed only from what I had said of the letter from the Archduke to the parliament, which in reality was no more than a blank signed, which we had filled up at Mr. de Bouillon's.

I squeezed

I squeezed the President le Coigneux by the hand, and made some signs to Mr. de Beaufort and to the Marechal de la Mothe. The Presidents de Novion and de Bellievre came over to my opinion, the ground of which was, that the aid of Spain, to which we were necessitated to have recourse as to an empirical and dangerous remedy to our evils, would infallibly prove mortal to all private persons concerned in it, except it passed at least through the alembic of the parliament. We all desired Mr. d'Elbeuf to bring the Spanish Agent to consent to confer with us, only about the form which he was to observe. We saw him that same night, Mr. le Coigneux and I, at the Duke d'Elbeuf's, where (in that Duke's presence) we told him as a great secret all that we were willing should be made public; as for what he was to say to the parliament, that had been concerted at Mr. de Bouillon's the day before. The Bernardine performed his part on this occasion like an understanding man. I shall give you an abstract of the speech he made there, after I have acquainted you with what passed on that occasion in the parliament at the time that he demanded an audience, or rather the Prince of Conti for him.

The President de Mesmes, uncle to the President of that name who is now in the parliament, and a very able man, but tied to the court even in a slavish manner, both by reason of his ambition that gave him no rest, and of his fear that was excessive; the President de Mesmes, I say, at the single mention that was made of an envoy from the Archduke, exclaimed in so eloquent and moving a manner, that I have met with nothing of that sort amongst the ancients that comes up to it; and then turning himself towards the Prince of Conti: 'Is it possible, Sir,' said he, 'that a Prince of the Blood of France can propose to give a seat on the Fleur-de-Luces, to an envoy from the greatest enemy of France?'

We had foreseen this storm, and would willingly have exposed Mr. d'Elbeuf to its first fury; but he had sheltered himself from it dextrously enough, saying, that the same reason that had obliged him to give his General an account of the letter which he had received, did not give him leave to speak of it to the parliament when his General was to be there in person. It was necessary however that some body should pave the way, and should let fall amongst a company, on whom the first impressions are of greatest force, the first words about a general as well as a particular peace, which was to be the errand of the envoy. The manner in which the mentioning an envoy from Spain should work at first on the

the minds of those of the inquests, was to determine * whether or no he should be heard. We knew that the least shadow of any concert, in companies that are tied to rules, is able to poison things, which are even the most just and necessary, and this inconveniency was more to be feared in this occasion than in any other. However, after we had debated the matter, and weighed all inconveniences, we judged it a less one to let people believe that this could not happen without some concert with Spain, than not to let it pass, as I said before, through the alembic of the parliament. I admired, in the debate we had about it, Mr. de Bouillon's judgment; for it was at his house that this was debated, and where it was resolved that the Prince of Conti should make the first overture of it to the parliament. Mr. de Bouillon declared himself for it, without hesitating in the least, which shewed how solid his judgment was, there being no greater proof of it than in being able to chuse, when the inconveniences are great on both sides. I return to the President de Mesmes, who applied himself first to the Prince of Conti; after which, turning himself towards me, he spoke these words: 'What, Sir, you refuse audience on the most frivolous pretence to a herald that comes from your King, and' — I knew very well what the second part of the apostrophe would be, and to prevent it, I immediately answered: 'You must give me leave, Sir, to look upon motives which have been consecrated by an arrest of this company, as far from being frivolous.'

Hereupon there arose a clamour in the parliament; the President de Mesmes was taken up for what he had said, which indeed was very imprudent, and certainly served very much, though you may be sure against his intent, to facilitate the envoy's audience. When I found that the company grew warm, and that the cry was against the President, I left my place upon I do not know what pretence, and I desired Quatresous, a young Counsellor of the inquests, and a man of the most impetuous spirit of all that body, to maintain the skirmish, because I had experienced several times that the properest and surest way of bringing any extraordinary matter to pass in such assemblies, is to stir up the young counsellors against the old. Quatresous performed that task to admiration. He worried the President de Mesmes and the first President, upon account of one la Rabliere, a famous partisan, whom he never failed to bring in, in all his speeches, let the subject he was upon be what it would. The whole chamber
of

* The reason of it is apparent, because of the great superiority of their number.

of inquests took up warmly Quatresous's defence: The Presidents grew at last weary of these impertinencies. They were forced to come to voting about the envoy, and, notwithstanding the conclusions of the King's counsel, and the exclamations of the two Presidents, and of many others, it was carried for the giving him audience.

He was immediately admitted, and he was placed next to the table, where he was desired to sit and be covered. He presented the Archduke's letter to the parliament, which contained nothing but credentials. He made afterwards a speech, and said: 'That his Imperial Highness, his master, had charged him to impart to the company a negotiation which Cardinal Mazarin had endeavoured to enter into with his Highness since the blockade of Paris: that his Catholic Majesty had thought it neither safe nor honourable to accept those offers, at a time when it was visible that they were made only with a view of having it in his power to oppress more easily the parliament, which was held in reverence by all nations in the world; and when, besides, no treaty could be made with a condemned minister, but such as would of itself be void, and would be the more so, because it would want the concurrence of the parliament, to whom alone belongs the registering and verifying treaties of peace, to render them valid and authentic: that the Catholic King, being unwilling to draw any advantage from the present posture of affairs, had ordered the Archduke to assure the gentlemen of the parliament, which he knew all of them to be sincerely attached to the true interest of his most Christian Majesty; to assure them, he said, that his Catholic Majesty would accept of them with all his heart for the arbitrators of the peace, and would submit to their determination: that if they agreed to this proposal, he left it to their choice to send deputies from their body to what place they pleased, or even to let Paris be the place, and that his Catholic Majesty would incessantly send his deputies thither in order only to represent his reasons: that in the mean while, and in expectation of their answer, he had caused 18,000 * of his soldiers to advance on the frontiers, to be in a readiness to help them in case of need; with an order, however, to attempt nothing against any of the French King's places, though most of them were in a manner abandoned: that there were not 600 men, in Peronne, in St. Quentin, and in le Catelet: but that his Catholic Majesty being willing to shew in this occasion the sincerity of his

Joli says that the Envoy offered the parliament the disposal of the whole Spanish army.

his intentions for procuring a good peace, he engaged his word that during the time that a treaty should be on foot, he would keep his armies from stirring: but that if, in the mean while, they might be any way useful to the parliament, they were at their disposal, and that they might name, if they thought fit, French officers to be at their head, and take all other manner of precautions which they thought necessary, to remove the umbrages that may always be reasonably entertained against the conduct of foreigners.

Before the envoy was suffered to enter, there had been many disorderly contests in the company, and the President de Mesmes had left nothing undone to charge me with all the blame of a collusion with the enemies of the kingdom. It was easy for him to set this off in the most lively colours, which my different conduct with the relation to the King's herald and the envoy of Spain, placed in their full light. It is certain that that circumstance looked ugly enough, and when one finds one's self in such a conjuncture, the only remedy is to lie quiet, when what is objected against you is like to make a stronger impression than what you have to answer; and to exert yourself, when your answer is like to make a stronger impression than what has been objected. I followed exactly that rule in this occasion, which was of great concern to me. For though the President de Mesmes pointed me out, with a great deal of design and art, I took no notice of it so long as I had nothing to oppose to him but what the Prince of Conti had spoke in general terms about a peace; for it had been agreed that he should indeed touch that point when he demanded audience for the envoy, but that he should touch it very gently, for fear of shewing too great a concert with Spain. But after the envoy had spoke about it himself, and had done it in so obliging a manner for the company, and when I found that his speech had pleased the generality, and had put them in good humour, I took that opportunity to have my revenge of the President de Mesmes. I told him: 'That the respect which I owed the company, had obliged me to bear with, and to dissemble, all that he had said to provoke me; that I had taken particular notice of all, though I seemed not to do it; that I would have continued in that same disposition, if the company's resolution, which it is never lawful to prevent, but which we are always bound to follow, did not now permit me to speak: that it had been ordered, though against his advice, that the Spanish envoy should be admitted, as it had before been ordered, likewise against his advice, not to admit the herald: that

' that I was unwilling to think that he intended to confine
 ' the company always to follow his opinion: that nobody
 ' respected his judgment more than I did, but that, respect
 ' and esteem ought not to deprive one of one's liberty: that
 ' I desired that the company would give me leave to express
 ' the respect I had for him, by giving him an account, that
 ' perhaps would surprize him, of my sentiments in relation
 ' both to the herald, and to the envoy, on which subject he
 ' had so many times attacked me: that as to the herald, I
 ' was forced to own that I was simple enough to have been
 ' near falling into the Cardinal's trap, and if Mr. de Broussel
 ' had not opened another advice that carried it, my too great
 ' zeal had plunged me into a fault that might have proved the
 ' ruin of the city, and into an action sufficiently acknow-
 ' ledged to be criminal, by the avowed approbation given by
 ' the Queen to the opposite conduct: that as to the envoy, I
 ' owned that if I was for admitting him to an audience, it
 ' was only because I perceived that the generality was inclined
 ' that way, and that, though in my private judgment I was
 ' against it, I thought it best for me to conform betimes to the
 ' judgment of others, when I knew that it would be in vain
 ' to contest; that thereby, an appearance of union and uni-
 ' formity in the company might at least be preserved.' This
 humble and modest way of answering the sharp and cutting
 words both of the first President, and the President de Mes-
 mes, which I had been exposed to for almost a fortnight to-
 gether, and even that very morning, worked in my behalf
 more than I am able to express, and took off for a considera-
 ble while the impression which those two Presidents had begun
 to make on the minds of the gentlemen of the parliament,
 that I designed to govern the whole company by my cabals.
 Nothing is so dangerous as that impression among all sorts of
 societies, and if the President de Mesme's passion had not
 opened me a way to give a tolerable good turn to the two
 scenes of the herald and the envoy, I doubt whether most of
 those that had approved the excluding the first, and the ad-
 mitting the second, had not repented their having done so,
 if they had perceived in what manner they were brought to
 it. The President de Mesmes would have replied to what I
 had said, but his words were drowned in the noise that came
 from those of the Inquests. It was now five in the after-
 noon: nobody had dined, and many had not breakfasted;
 so the two Presidents received the last blow, which is disad-
 vantageous in these cases.

By

By the arrest which admitted the Spanish envoy, it was ordered that he should be desired to give in writing the speech that he had made to the parliament, with his name signed at the bottom: that that writing should be affixed to the Register-book, and that it should be sent to the Queen by a solemn deputation, with assurances of the parliament's fidelity, and with supplications that she would grant peace to her people, and order the King's forces to be removed from about Paris. It was then very late, and every body was sharp set, which has a greater influence in those deliberations than one can imagine. That was the cause, that the last clause in the arrest was like to have been overlooked. The President le Coigneux was the first that perceived the consequence, which made him turn to a good number of counsellors that began to rise, to whom he said: 'Gentlemen, I have something to say to the company, I desire you to sit down again: it is about a thing wherein Europe's all is concerned.' Every body being set down again, he pronounced with a grave and majestic air, which was not common to Mr Juggler (for so he was nicknamed) these words, full of sense: 'The King of Spain names us for the arbitrators of a general peace; perhaps, he only jests; however, the telling of us so, is an honour he does us. He offers us forces to be sent to our aid, and in that point it is certain that he does not jest, and that that offer must be very acceptable. We have heard his envoy, and, considering our present state, we have not acted wrong in doing so. We have resolved to give an account of that action to the King, and we are in the right as to that. But some are willing to think that in order to it, it is necessary to send the original of the arrest, *with the envoy's proposals signed by him*, and that is the snare. I declare, Sir,' said he, 'turning to the first President, that the company has not understood it in this sense, and have meant only that a copy of the arrest should be sent, but that the original should remain with the Register. I wish there had been no cause given to oblige people to explain themselves, because there are matters on which it is better to speak but by halves. But since there is a necessity for it, I shall not scruple to say, that if we carry the original, the Spaniards will think that we expose to Mazarin's caprice their proposals to us about a general peace, and even about succouring us. When, as if we send but a copy, and back it, as the company has very wisely ordered it, with our

* These words are added to explain this whole passage.

our humble supplications about the raising the siege, all Europe will see that we keep ourselves in a condition to do what the true service of the King, and the solid good of the state, require of us, supposing the Cardinal blind enough not to make the use he ought of this present conjuncture.

This speech had the company's general approbation: they all said that it was in that manner that the arrest was understood: the gentlemen of the Inquests gave, as they had done before, many brushes to the two Presidents. Martineau, a Counsellor of the Inquests, said publicly, that the proviso of the arrest was, that the Spanish envoy should be handsomely entertained till the return of the deputies from St. Germain, who were like to bring back nothing but some one of the Cardinal's old come-offs. Charton prayed aloud the Prince of Conti to supply what their parliamentary forms hindered the company from doing. Pontcarré said, that he was less afraid of a Spaniard than of a Mazarinian. In short, it is certain that the Generals saw plainly enough that they had no reason to fear the parliament's resenting any steps which they should take towards Spain; and Mr. de Bouillon and I had more than enough to give the Spanish envoy full satisfaction, by setting off to him every circumstance, even to the minutest. He was pleased beyond his hopes with what had passed, and he dispatched that very night a second express to Brussels, who was guarded on his way thither by five hundred of our horse for ten leagues together. That express carried the relation of all that had passed in the parliament; the articles upon which the Prince of Conti, with the other generals, insisted, about their treating with Spain; and the sort of engagement which I was willing to enter into as to my particular. I shall give you the detail of this and of what followed, after I have informed you of what happened that same day, which was the 19th of February.

While the scene of the Spanish envoy was acting at the parliament, Noirmoutier went out with two thousand horse to bring a convoy to Paris, consisting of five hundred waggons, all loaded with flour, from Brie-comte-Robert, where we had a garrison. Having received advice that the Count de Grancey, * who has since been Marechal of France, was coming from towards Lagny to oppose himself to it, he detached Mr. de la Rochefoucault with seventeen squadrons

* James Rouxel, Count de Grancey, made Marechal of France in 1651.

squadrons to post himself at a narrow passage through which the enemies were obliged to come. Mr. de la Rochefoucault, whose courage was greater than his experience, was carried by his heat beyond his orders. He left his post, and charged the enemies; but having to do with veteran troops, he was soon routed, and was much wounded in the throat by a pistol-shot. He lost there Rozar, brother to Duras; the Marquis de Sillery, his brother-in-law, was made a prisoner: Rache-court, who was first Captain of my regiment of Horse, was dangerously wounded; and the convoy had been lost if Noirmoutier had not come with the rest of the forces. He caused the waggons to file off towards Villeneuve St. George; he marched with the troops in good order in the great road on the side of Grosbois, in sight of Grancey, who thought not fit to hazard the passing a bridge which he met before him upon the road. Noirmoutier joined the waggons in the plain of Creteil, and, without losing one of them, brought them into Paris, where he did not arrive till eleven at night.

I have already told you, that Mr. de Bouillon and I, jointly with the other Generals, had engaged the Spanish envoy to dispatch an express to Brussels, which went away at midnight. Immediately after that, we sat down to supper at Mr. de Bouillon's, he, the Dutchess, and myself. The Dutchess was naturally very gay with those she might be free with, and the success which we had had that day having increased her gaiety, she told us that she intended to be very merry. She ordered all the servants to retire, and she kept only Briquemaut, Captain of the Duke de Bouillon's guards, in whom they both put a great trust. The truth is, that she had a mind to speak freely about the state of our affairs, which she fancied to be good. I would not undeceive her so long as we staid at table, for fear of spoiling both her's and the Duke de Bouillon's supper, this last being ill of the gout. But supper being over, I shewed them that nothing was more nice than the situation in which we were; that if the party to which we were joined had been but an ordinary party, that had the whole kingdom as favourably inclined to it as it was to us, we should infallibly rule the roast. But that the parliament, in which in one sense consisted our greatest strength, proved in two or three our weakest side: that though they seemed there so much in earnest, their inclination was in the bottom for a reconciliation with the court, of which they gave shrewd signs on every occasion: that even in what had passed there this day we had had need of all our skill to pre-

vent

vent their putting a halter about their own necks: not but that I owned that what we had brought them to, was of great service to make the Spaniards believe that that company was not so unapproachable as they had imagined; but that it must likewise be owned, that if the minister acted wisely, the court would reap a great advantage from the parliament's conduct, by making use of the submission which that company shewed in sending an account of what had passed touching the Spanish envoy, as of a motive for coming off handsomely from their first haughtiness; and by making use likewise of the deputation which the parliament had resolved to send in so solemn a manner, as of a fit means to begin a negotiation: that I made no doubt but that the ill effect of the refusing an audience to the King's counsel, sent to St. Germain's by the parliament the next day after the King's removal, would serve for an example to induce the court to make a better use of the present occasion: that I was the more inclined to think so, by the obliging manner in which our excuses for not admitting the King's herald had been received at court, though they could not but know there that those excuses had hardly any foundation: that the first President, and the President de Mesmes, who would be at the head of the deputation, would not fail to shew Mazarin what his true interest was in this conjuncture: that those two Presidents had no view but what related to their own body, and that, provided they might bring the parliament off, they would even be glad to abandon us, by coming to an accommodation; in which, mention indeed would be made of our being made safe, but only in words, and not in reality, and in which, by making an end of the civil war, they would settle slavery.

Madam de Bouillon interrupted me at that word, by saying, 'These are inconveniencies which ought, methinks, to have been foreseen before the envoy's audience, since they are all derived from it.' But the Duke replied immediately, 'You have forgot what we said very lately upon that subject. Have we not foreseen in general these inconveniencies? But having weighed them against the necessity which we thought there was to bring in any manner the Spanish envoy and the parliament together, we chose of two inconveniencies that which appeared the least to us, and I find that the Coadjutor is now seeking for some remedy, even to that lesser evil.' 'Tis very true, Sir,' (replied I) 'and I shall propose the remedy that I have in my thoughts, after I have made an end of mentioning all the inconveniencies that I perceive. You have observed how, some

some days ago, Brillac in the parliament, and the President Aubry in the council held at the Town-house, made some overtures of peace, which the Parliament was like to have fallen into blindly, and they thought there that they had done great matters, in resolving not to deliberate without the Generals being present. You will find that there are many in that company, and in the inferior courts, who begin not to pay their taxes, and that many others suffer willingly disorders to slip into the civil government. The body of the people that keep staunch, is the cause that the loosening in the joints is not yet perceived; but that loosening in the joints will weaken, and in a little time ruin all, if care be not taken to consolidate the parts, and to keep them tight together. The heat that is in the minds of people, is sufficient to work that effect in the beginning. When that heat abates, force must take place; but when I speak of force, I mean that which is gathered from the respect that remains in those from whom the evil which you seek to remedy, is most likely to proceed. By what you are now transacting with the Spaniards, the parliament may find out, that they ought not to reckon themselves to be all in all. Mr. de Beaufort's credit and mine with the people, ought to induce that body to reckon us for something. But as these views have their conveniences, they have likewise their inconveniences. The correspondence between the Generals and Spain, is not public enough to make such an impression upon people's minds, as in one sense would be requisite, but which in the whole would prove pernicious, if it was made more public. That same correspondence on the other side, is not kept secret enough to prevent the parliament from making use of it to our disadvantage when occasion serves; which however they would sooner do, if they saw us left without any protection. As for Mr. de Beaufort's credit and mine with the people, it is better able to do the parliament hurt, than to prevent its hurting us. If we were of the meanest of the people, we might perhaps have some thoughts of doing what Bussi le Clerc * did at the time of the league, that is, to imprison

* He was a fencing-master by trade, and afterwards an attorney at the parliament. He was one of those sixteen zealots for the league, who became in some measure masters of Paris, which they had divided into sixteen wards. He was afterwards forced to fly to Brussels, and to take up there his first trade of a fencing-master.

' prison and destroy the parliament. We might have the
 ' same view that the sixteen had when they hanged the Presi-
 ' dent Brisson, * if we intended to be as much dependant on
 ' Spain as the sixteen were. But Mr. de Beaufort is grand-
 ' son to Henry the Great, and I am Coadjutor of Paris: this
 ' would turn neither to our credit nor our account. And
 ' yet it would be easier for us to do what Bussi le Clerc and
 ' the sixteen did, than to bring the parliament to such a be-
 ' lief of it as might prevent their doing us the harm which
 ' they will always think they have the power to do, till by
 ' the effects they are convinced of the contrary. And this
 ' is the fate of popular power, which is never believed but
 ' when it is felt; and it is often more profitable, as well as
 ' more honourable, to those in whom the power is lodged, to
 ' have it rather believed than felt. This is our case. The
 ' parliament inclines to a peace, which must prove very un-
 ' safe and very shameful. We might to-morrow, if we
 ' pleased, make the people rise up against them. But is that
 ' a game that we ought to play? If we take away from the
 ' parliament their authority, what will become of Paris in a
 ' little time? Let us turn the tables: if we do not cause the
 ' people to rise, will the parliament believe that it is in our
 ' power to bring them to it? Will any thing prevent the
 ' parliament from taking steps towards the court that may
 ' perhaps ruin them, but not till we are infallibly ruined first?
 ' You will perhaps say, that I mention many inconveniences,
 ' and but few remedies. My answer is, that I have already
 ' taken notice of the remedies that are naturally to be found
 ' in the treaty that is now on foot with Spain, and in the
 ' manner in which Mr. de Beaufort and I apply ourselves
 ' to keep the people in our interest. But perceiving in both
 ' these remedies some qualities that may prevent their work-
 ' ing effectually, I thought myself obliged, Sir, to seek in
 ' your ability and long experience for something that may
 ' supply those defects. It is for that reason that I have taken
 ' the liberty of giving you an account of particulars, which
 ' you would yourself have perceived at first much more dis-
 ' tinctly than I, if your illness had given you leave to be
 ' present but once or twice at the assemblies of the parlia-
 ' ment, or at one of the councils held at the Town-house.

Mr. de Bouillon, who was far from thinking that affairs
 were on that foot, desired that I would set down in writing
 what I had already said, or had more to say. I did it at
 that

* They hanged him upon the 15th of November 1591.

that instant, and the next day he gave me a copy of it written by his secretary, which copy I still have by me. Nothing can be greater than Mr. and Madam de Bouillon's surprize and concern, at their hearing from me the true state of our affairs; and indeed my surprize at my finding them in that condition had not been less than theirs. No change ever was more sudden. The Queen's civil and gentle answer to the King's counsel about the herald; her protesting from her heart to forgive every body; the colours made use of by Talon, Advocate-general, to set off the Queen's answer, changed in an instant almost every body's mind. 'Tis true, that there were moments wherein they seemed to be returned to their first temper, either by reason of some accidents that happened, or by the management of those that found means to bring them now and then to their first heats. But from that time there was amongst them a settled inclination to return to the court. I had observed it thoroughly, and I was glad to discover it to Mr. de Bouillon (who was the only wise man of his profession among the party) that I might advise with him what steps we were to follow. I set a good face upon the matter with all the rest. I magnified to them the smallest circumstances, with almost as much care as I had done to the Archduke's envoy. The President de Mesmes, who through the many brushes that had been given him in the two last deliberations, had perceived that all was but a flash of fire, told the President de Bellievre, that for this time I was made a fool of, and that I had mistaken the shadow for the substance. The President de Bellievre, to whom I had discovered all that I had observed, might have undeceived him if he had thought fit; but he was himself made a fool of, and laughed at the President de Mesmes, as at a man that was willing to flatter himself.

Mr. de Bouillon, after I had left him, which was about two, spent his time till five that morning in examining what I had writ down, and sent me a note to desire me to be again with him at three in the afternoon. I failed not to go thither, where I found Madam de Bouillon under the utmost concern, because the Duke her husband had assured her that all that I had writ was but too well grounded, supposing the facts that I had mentioned to be true, of which he could not but think I was rightly informed; and that he knew but of one remedy to that evil, which he was sure I would not only refuse, but even oppose. That remedy was, to let the parliament go on entirely their own way, and even to help them under-hand to take steps that might render them odious to
the

the people, to begin from that instant to bring them into discredit with the public; to play the same game in regard to the Town-house, the head of which, who was the President le Ferron, Prevost-des-Merchands, was already very much suspected by the people; and to take afterwards hold of the first favourable opportunity, to secure either by imprisonment or exile the persons of those on whom we could not rely. These were Mr. de Bouillon's measures, which he proposed to me without any manner of hesitation, telling me at the same time, that Longueuil, who was the man in France that knew the parliament best, and who was with him that same day about noon, had agreed that the only remedy that would prove effectual, would be to think betimes of purging the parliament. This was the word which he used, and I had known him at that single word. There never was a man more peremptory nor more violent; but at the same time no man knew better than he how to cover that violence and peremptoriness with the softest terms. I had already thought of what Mr. de Bouillon proposed, and perhaps upon a better ground than he, because I knew better than he how feasible the thing was. I would not however give him any room to imagine that I had thought of it, because I knew that he had the foible to be pleased with the fancy of having first imagined a thing; and that is the only defect which I have observed in him as to matters of negotiation. After he had sufficiently explained all his thoughts, I desired that I might have leave to set down mine in writing, which I immediately did in this manner.

‘ I agree that this project may be executed, but I think it
‘ pernicious in its consequences with regard as well to public
‘ as private concerns. You will find that the same people
‘ of whom you have made use for pulling down the autho-
‘ rity of the magistrates, will cease to acknowledge yours,
‘ the moment that you are obliged to ask of them the same
‘ aids which the magistrates thought fit to require. The
‘ people adored the parliament till the war begun. They
‘ are still for the war, and yet their love for the parliament
‘ begins to abate. They fancy to themselves that the
‘ change is only in respect to some members that are Maza-
‘ rinians: they are mistaken: that alteration reaches to the
‘ whole company, but it does it only by degrees and insen-
‘ sibly. The people grow weary some time before they per-
‘ ceive they do. Their hatred to Mazarin supports and co-
‘ vers that weariness. We keep people’s spirits brisk and
‘ merry, by our lampoons and our ballads; by the noise of
VOL. I. K ‘ our

our drums, trumpets, and kettle-drums. But, at the bottom, are taxes paid with the same exactness that they were the first weeks? Have we found many persons that have done like you, Sir, or like Mr. de Beaufort and me, in sending their plate to the mint? Have you not observed that some who still think themselves mighty zealous for the common cause, begin to excuse in some particular cases those that are the least so? These are signs of weariness that are the more to be observed, because it is hardly six weeks since we are in action; and what a longer time is like to produce, I leave you to judge. The people feel not as yet that they are weary, at least 'tis certain that they mind it not. They take their weariness to be only anger, and that anger is against the parliament; that is, against a company which was not above a month since the people's idol, and in favour of whom they have taken up arms. When we have destroyed that company's authority with the people, when we have set up our own, and settled ourselves in the room of the parliament, we must infallibly fall into the same inconveniences with them, because we shall be obliged to follow the same measures. We shall levy taxes as they have done, with this only difference, that the envy and hatred which we shall immediately contract with the best sort of citizens, who are all, in one manner or another, attached to the parliament, will, as soon as we have attacked, lessened or destroyed that company, raise in a week's time in the rest of the people the same spirit of mutiny against us that has lain six weeks dormant before it has begun to appear against them. We have a famous example of this in the time of the league. The Duke de Mayenne, finding in the parliament that same spirit of which we now complain, that always tends to join together things contradictory, and to manage a civil war, according to the opinion and direction of the King's counsel, grew soon weary of that pedantry. He made use, though covertly, of the sixteen persons who commanded the several wards, in order to destroy that company. But he was afterwards obliged to hang four of these sixteen for their too great attachment to Spain. What he acted however in this occasion, with an intent to make himself less dependant on the Spaniards, increased the need he had of their aid, to maintain himself against the parliament, whose power began to revive. What were the consequences of these steps he took? Mr. de Mayenne was thereby obliged to sign a treaty, which gave occasion

occasion to the following age to say of him, that he understood neither how to make peace nor war. This was the fate of Mr. de Mayenne, that is, of the head of a party formed for the defence of religion, and cemented by the blood of Messieurs de Guise, generally looked upon as the Maccabees of their time; and of a party besides that had spread itself through the whole kingdom. Are we arrived to that point? Is it not in the power of the court to take from us to-morrow any pretence to a civil war, by the expulsion of Mazarin, and the raising of the siege? The provinces, you will say, begin to stir; but their motion is not such that it ought to hinder us from applying ourselves more earnestly than ever to make Paris our chief resource. Taking this for granted, do you think it wise to cause a like division in our party, as proved the ruin of that of the league, which was better formed, better settled, and much more considerable than ours can pretend to be? Madam de Bouillon will tell me again, that I do nothing but enlarge upon the inconveniences, without mentioning any remedy: here follows mine,

I will say nothing of the treaty which you are projecting with Spain, nor of our keeping the people steady; because we agree that both these are necessary. But another expedient is come into my head, which I think is extremely proper to oblige the parliament to have for us all the regard that is requisite. We have an army, which, so long as it is kept within the city walls, will be looked upon only as part of the people. There is not one counsellor of the Inquests but thinks that he is at least as much master of that army as the Generals. I was saying last night, that popular power is never believed until it is felt, because those in whose hands that power ought naturally to lodge, by reason of their character, love to flatter themselves with the fancy that they possess it still when they have really lost it. Do but reflect upon what has lately happened at court. Was there a minister or a courtier, that till the moment the barricadoes were set up, did not ridicule what was said of the people's disposition for the parliament? And yet there was not a minister or courtier, but might have foreseen that revolution by infallible signs. One would think, however, that the barricadoes would have convinced them: but has that done it? Has it prevented the court from besieging Paris, upon the thought that the people's humour, that proved strong enough to bring them to a commotion,

' would never carry them so far as the supporting a war ?
 ' What has been done from the beginning of the siege might
 ' have undeceived them : are they undeceived ? Has not the
 ' Queen persons about her that tell her every day that the
 ' best sort of citizens are for the court, and that none but a
 ' hired mob are of the parliament's side ? I have told you the
 ' reason why men are apt to flatter and to cheat themselves
 ' in these matters. What has happened to the court, hap-
 ' pens now to the parliament. They might observe in the
 ' people's motion a shadow at least of their power : and they
 ' might foresee by their beginning to murmur at them, and
 ' by their growing madder and madder for Mr. de Beaufort
 ' and me, that that shadow will soon become a substance.
 ' But do they observe and foresee this ? Not at all. They
 ' will not see it until they feel it by their being really and
 ' actually attacked and crushed. Any thing less than that
 ' will appear in their eyes only a vain and insignificant at-
 ' tempt against them, that will serve but to incense them,
 ' and if they see us relent they will actually push us, and
 ' by doing so, they will force us to crush them in good ear-
 ' nest. I have already shewed that we should not find our
 ' account in that. Our interest is rather not to hurt them,
 ' for fear of dividing the party, and yet to act in a manner
 ' that may convince them that their good and ours are inse-
 ' parable. The best means in my opinion for performing
 ' this is to draw our army out of Paris ; to find some post
 ' for it free from the enemy's attacks, and from whence,
 ' however, it may cover our convoys ; and to induce the
 ' parliament to solicit themselves the drawing out the army,
 ' that they may mistrust nothing of our design, till their
 ' knowing it is for our advantage. That precaution added
 ' to the others on which you have already resolved, will put
 ' that company, without hardly perceiving it, to the neces-
 ' sity of acting in concert with us, and then the favour of
 ' the people, whereby only we may keep the parliament united
 ' to us, will no longer appear a shadow to that company,
 ' when they see it supported, and if I may say so, embodied
 ' by an army which they will cease to think they have the
 ' mastery of.

This is what I wrote upon the table in Madam de Bouil-
 lon's closet, and what I read both to the Duke and to her. I
 observed, that when I came to the place where I proposed the
 drawing out the army, she made a sign to the Duke, who,
 as soon as I had done reading, took her aside, and talked to
 her for near half a quarter of an hour. He then said to me :

' You

' You are so well informed of the state of Paris, and I am
' so little acquainted with it, that you must excuse my
' speaking but imperfectly upon that subject. I am going to
' fortify your reasons by discovering a thing to you, pro-
' vided that you will promise upon your salvation to keep it
' hid from all the world, but chiefly from Mademoiselle de
' Bouillon.* After this he went on and said: ' Mr. de
' Turenne writes us word, That he is upon the point of de-
' claring for the party, and that only two colonels in his
' army put him to some trouble, but that in less than a
' week's time he is resolved to make sure of them one way or
' other, and that he will then immediately march to us. He
' desires us to keep this a secret to every body except to your-
' self.'——' But his governante' (added Madam de Bou-
illon, in a passion,) ' has ordered us to keep it a secret even
' to you too.' The governante she meant was Mademoi-
selle de Bouillon, her sister-in-law, an old maid, whom Mr.
de Turenne put an absolute trust upon, and whom Madam
de Bouillon hated entirely. Mr. de Bouillon went on and
said: ' What think you now of the matter? Are we not
' masters both of the court and of the parliament?' ' I shall
' not be ungrateful, (answered I) ' I shall repay the trust you
' repose in me, by discovering to you a secret of less import-
' ance but yet of no little weight. I was just now shewed a
' letter from the Marechal d'Hocquincourt † to Madam de
' Montbazon, that contains only these words: *The beauti-
' fullest of women may reckon Peronne ‡ hers.* I have like-
' wise received this morning a letter from Bussy Lamet, that
' says that we may reckon upon Mezieres.' § Madam de
Bouillon, transported with joy at this, clasped me about the
neck: we now thought ourselves sure of every thing; and in
a quarter of an hour's time, we resolved upon all the parti-
cular measures which we were to observe, according to the
plan which you have already seen.

I must not omit in this place, a saying of Mr. de Bouil-
lon's: as we were examining the means how to draw the army
out

* *Charlotte de la Tour, who died unmarried in 1662.*

† *Charles de Monchi, Marquis d'Hocquincourt, Govern-
nor of Peronne, &c. Marechal of France in 1651, and killed
before Dunkirk in 1658.*

‡ *A town in Picardy, upon the river Somme, and at that
time one of the keys of France.*

§ *A town upon the river Maeze, in the province of Cham-
pagne, with a citadel.*

out of Paris, without giving any mistrust to the parliament ; Madam de Bouillon, who was (as I said before) transported with joy at so much good news, could now give no attention to our discourse ; and Mr. de Bouillon (observing that what I had been told about Mr. de Turenne, worked likewise upon me so as to make me mind but little what we were about) said to me with some kind of anger : ‘ I forgive it my wife, but I cannot forgive it you.’ The old Prince of Orange used to say, *That at the time that we receive the best news about the most important matters, we ought then to mind most the smallest matters in hand.*

The twenty-fourth of this month of February, those that were deputed by the parliament, and who had the day before received their passes, went to give the Queen an account of the audience granted to the Archduke’s envoy. The court failed not to make use of this opportunity to enter into a negotiation. For, although the deputies in their passes had not their several titles given them, but were only called by their family names, yet were they not looked upon at court as having lost their several ranks and places. The Queen told them, that they would have done better not to have given the envoy audience ; but that the thing was done and could not be remedied : that it was now time to think of a good peace : that as for her, she was very well disposed towards it : that the Chancellor having been ill for some days, she would not fail the day following to give them a fuller answer * in writing. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, spoke still in a more positive manner. They promised the Deputies, with whom they had long conferences, to open all the passages, as soon as the parliament had empowered Deputies to treat.

The same day we received information, that the Prince of Condé intended to throw into the river all the flour that was in Gonesse, and in the neighbouring places, because the country people brought it in abundance into the city. We prevented that design : the army marched betwixt nine and ten at night, and stood the whole night in order of battle before St. Dennis, to hinder the Marechal du Pleffis, who was there with eight hundred horse of the gendarmery, from annoying our convoy. We made use on that occasion of all the carts, waggons, and horses, that could be found in Paris. The Marechal de la Mothe detached himself with 1000 horse, and

* That answer is inserted at large in the fourth volume.

and brought into the city all the provisions which he found in Gonesse, * and in all the adjacent parts, without losing a single man or a single horse. The Queen's gens d'armes fell upon our rear, but were repulsed by St. Germain d'Apchon, as far as the river of St. Dennis.

That same day likewise, Flamarin came to Paris, being sent by the Duke of Orleans to condole with the Queen of England upon the death of the King her husband, which had been known but three or four days before. But that was only a pretence for Flamarin's coming, the true cause of which was this: it came into the head of la Riviere, with whom Flamarin was intimate, to establish by his means a correspondence with Mr. de la Rochefoucault; Flamarin being likewise very familiar with him. I knew at every instant what passed between them, by the means of Madam de Pomereux, with whom Flamarin was in love, and to whom he imparted all his transactions. That gentleman knew that Cardinal Mazarin had told la Riviere, in a manner that this last believed it, that the only obstacle to his being made a Cardinal, lay in the Prince of Conti. Flamarin therefore thought that he could do his friend no greater service than to enter into a negotiation that might dispose things to an union between them. He saw Mr. de la Rochefoucault upon that subject, whom he found not at all hard to persuade. La Rochefoucault kept his bed when he saw him, by reason of the wound he had received, which incommoded him much; and he was besides extremely weary of the civil war. He told Flamarin, that he came into it much against his will, and that if he had arrived from Poitou two months before the siege of Paris, he certainly would have prevented Madam de Longueville from engaging in that bad affair, but that I had made use of his absence to embark both the Prince of Conti and her in it: that he had found them too far engaged to make them break off: that his wound was become a new obstacle to the design he had of uniting the Royal Family: that that devil of a Coadjutor was altogether against any peace, and was continually besetting the Prince of Conti and Madam de Longueville, in order to shut up all the avenues towards it; and that his illness prevented his remedying those evils. Mr. de la Rochefoucault concerted after this with Flamarin all those measures, which, it is thought, obliged afterwards the Prince of Conti to

* A borough distant three leagues from Paris, where, by reason of the goodness of the waters, they bake the best bread which is sold at Paris.

to desist from his nomination to the cardinalship, and to yield it to la Riviere. I was informed of all these steps by Madam de Pomereux, and after I had got all the light which I thought necessary, I caused the Prevost-des-Marchands to order Flamarin to depart the town, because the time allowed him by his pass had been out for some days past.

The 26th of this month the parliament fell into some heats, upon the news that was brought them that Grancey had besieged Brie-comte-Robert, with 5000 foot and 3000 horse, the greatest part of the members being most ridiculously for the hazarding a battle in order to relieve it. It was with a great deal of pains that our Generals could dissuade them from that design. The place was good for nothing, or was at least useless for many reasons. Mr. de Bouillon, whom the gout kept at home, sent his opinion in writing to the company, who appeared on this occasion more like a mob than any thing else. Bourgogne, who commanded in that town, surrendered it that same day. If he had held out longer, I do not know whether it had been possible to prevent the attempting some foolish thing or other, to appease the impertinent noise of these bawlers, though it had been done against all the rules of war. I made use, however, of this opportunity to bring them to desire of themselves, that our army should be no longer kept inclosed within the walls of the town. The Count de Maloze * by my direction told the President Charton, That he knew for certain that the reason of our not relieving Brie-comte-Robert, was the impossibility of getting the army out of Paris time enough, and that that had been before the only cause of the loss of Charenton. The President de Mesmes had likewise, by my direction, notice given him, as coming from very good hands, of the pretended perplexity in which I was, because that, on the one side, I plainly perceived that the loss of those two places, of Brie-comte-Robert, and of Charenton, was imputed by the public to the keeping obstinately our army shut up within the walls of Paris; and that on the other side, I could not abide the thought of removing the soldiers ever so little from my sight, because they were so many hirelings that cried me up both in the streets and in the court-halls. All this train took fire. The President Charton spoke now of nothing else but of encamping: the President de Mesmes, at the end of every speech he made, pressed upon the necessity of not leaving our army useless. The Generals seemed to
be

* *Lewis de Bourbon-Maloze.*

be embarrassed at that proposal, and I seemed as if I would have contradicted it. We were in that manner pressed for eight or ten days before we yielded, after which, we consented to do what we wished more by much than any of those that were so pressing.

Noirmoutier went that same day out of Paris with fifteen hundred horse, and brought from Dammartin and the neighbouring places an immense quantity of corn and flour. The Prince of Condé could not be every where: he had not horse enough to make himself master of the country round about, which assisted Paris. There was more corn brought in than was sufficient to subsist the town for six weeks, though by the knavery of the bakers, and the want of care of the town-officers, it was not managed so well as it ought.

The 27th, the first President made his report to the parliament of what had passed at St. Germain, and the Generals were desired to be present there in the afternoon to deliberate upon the propositions made by the court. Mr. de Beaufort and I had much ado to restrain the people from entering into the grand chamber: they were extremely incensed at the deputies, whom they threatened to throw into the river; saying, that they had had conferences with Mazarin, and had betrayed them. We were forced to make use of all our credit with them before we could appease them; and the jest was, that the parliament thought us the authors of all that tumult. *Credit with the people is attended with that evil, that it makes us answerable for all that they do even against our consent.* The experience which we had of this that morning, obliged us to desire the Prince of Conti to send the parliament word that he could not possibly be with them that afternoon, and to pray them to put off the deliberation till the next morning. We thought in the mean while, that it would be proper for us to assemble at Mr. de Bouillon's, and consult there together what was best for us to do in the present conjuncture, when we found ourselves betwixt the parliament that was for a peace, the people that murmured because they were for a war, and the Spaniards that might be at our cost either for peace or war, as their interest led them. We were not much less embarrassed at this meeting than we had feared to have been at the parliament. The Prince of Conti, directed by Mr. de la Rochefoucault, spoke as if he had been for war, but his actions shewed that he inclined to peace. The part which I saw him play there, and what I knew of Flamarin, left me no room to doubt but that he was expecting

some answer from St. Germain. The least of what Mr. d'Elbeuf proposed, was to send at once the whole body of the parliament to the Bastile. Mr. de Bouillon had not said any thing in relation to Mr. de Turenne, whose declaring for us was not as yet made public. I durst not insist upon the reasons that made me judge it necessary to let every thing run on gently, till our having a camp formed at some distance from the city, and our hearing both of Mr. de Turenne's being on the march with his army, and of the Spaniards advancing to our frontiers, should have put us in a condition to make the parliament act in the manner we pleased. Mr. de Beaufort, who was not a person fit to be intrusted with any secret of importance, because of Madam de Montbazon that could not be relied on, was at a loss why the credit which both he and I had with the people, should not be made use of on this occasion. Mr. de Bouillon might have found, more than any body else, his private account in the public combustion, and for that reason he sided with me no further than he thought it decent for him to be for the moderate way, which was not to disturb by any stirring of the people what was to be debated the next day at the parliament. As there was not the least doubt to be made of the company's embracing even with precipitancy the offers which the court made of treating, nothing hardly could be opposed to the reasons of those that were for stirring up the people, as being the only means for preventing the doings of the parliament. Mr. de Beaufort came full sail into it. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who had that moment received a very scornful letter from la Riviere, played the bully. You may imagine what my trouble was, when I reflected how inconvenient it would prove for me, either not to prevent a commotion that would infallibly be laid to my charge, or to oppose it with those to whom I durst not discover the most solid reasons which I had to disapprove it. The first course that I took, was to side with the Prince of Conti in his uncertain and ambiguous manner of speaking. But when I perceived that that kind of nonsense might indeed hinder the resolving to stir up the people, but would not be able to bring us to a resolution of opposing any commotion, which was however a thing necessary, considering how they were disposed, and how easy it would be for any one, the least in their favour, to heat and to inflame them, I thought that it was no longer time to stand wavering. I declared myself publicly: I explained to them all the very same reasons which I had before made use of in private against it to Mr. de Bouillon: I insisted that nothing new should be done,

done, till by Fuenfaldagne's answer we were certainly informed of what we might expect from the Spaniards; and this reason served me instead of the others which I durst not mention, and which had more naturally occurred from Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us, and from our project of encamping our forces at some small distance from Paris.

I experienced in this occasion, *that one of the greatest inconveniences of a civil war, is that one ought to study with a greater care what is to be bid from one's friends, than what is to be done against one's enemies.* I had luck enough to bring the company to my opinion, because Mr. de Bouillon came again over to it, being convinced that in this conjuncture, any commotion whatsoever must be fatal to its authors. But what he told me upon that subject after the company was retired, made me see plainly that as soon as our army was encamped, that our treaty with Spain was concluded, and that Mr. de Turenne had declared for us, he was resolved to get free from the parliament's yoke, or rather its pedantry. I told him that as for my part I was ready to join with him for that purpose, when Mr. de Turenne had once declared; but that he might easily judge that till that time, I could not disunite myself from the parliament, though I plainly saw myself ruined by it, because I was at least sure of preserving my honour by keeping joined to a body, whose steps any private person can hardly be thought in the wrong to follow. Whereas should I contribute to its ruin, before we had, to supply that want, a party that was French in the bottom, and that had nothing to make it odious, I might very easily be reduced to become at Brussels a copy of the exiles of the league. But that as for him he might, better than I, find his account in it, from his capacity in war and the settlements which he might expect from the Spaniards; that he ought however to remember the Duke d'Aumale, * who came to nothing when he was reduced only to the protection of Spain; that it was therefore necessary as well for him, as for me, to have a party within the kingdom that might be relied upon, before we turned our thoughts towards leaving the parliament; and that we ought even to resolve to bear with that company, till we saw what would become of the Spaniards march, of the encampment

* Charles of Lorraine, Duke d'Aumale, who being dissatisfied with the peace which the Duke de Mayenne, the head of the league, concluded with King Henry the Fourth of France, retired to the Spaniards, and died in the Low-Countries in 1619 or 1620.

encampment of our army, and of Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us, which last was the capital point, because it brought over to us a body of troops that had no manner of foreign dependency, but was purely French, and able of itself to carry on the business. This last consideration brought Madam de Bouillon, who came to us as soon as the company was gone, to be of that opinion. She at first appeared mighty angry that the company was parted without resolving upon making themselves masters of the parliament. 'I well knew,' said she to Mr. de Bouillon, 'and I had told you as much, that you would not resist the Coadjutor.' 'Would you, Madam,' answered he, 'desire the Coadjutor to venture, upon our score, the becoming Fuensaldagne's chaplain? Is it possible that you cannot comprehend what he has been preaching to you for three days together?' I spoke in my turn, and said to Madam de Bouillon, without any heat: 'Do not you agree, Madam, that we shall be able to take more certain measures, when our camp is formed, when we have an answer from the Archduke, and when Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us shall become public?' 'Ay,' but says she, 'the parliament will do things to-morrow, that will render useless all that you are waiting for.' 'No, Madam,' replied I, 'let the parliament do what they please, I maintain if what we wait for arrives, we shall be in a condition to laugh at all that they can do.' 'Do you give me your word for that?' said she. 'More than that, Madam,' answered I, 'I am ready to sign it with my blood.' 'That you shall do immediately,' cried she. At that she bound my thumb with silk, whatever the Duke could say. She pricked it with a needle, and drew some blood from it, with which she made me sign the following words: 'I promise her Grace the Dutchess of Bouillon, to remain united with the Duke her husband against the parliament, in case that Mr. de Turenne advances with the army under his command, within twenty leagues of Paris, and declares himself in favour of that city.' Mr. de Bouillon burnt that paper after it was signed, but joined himself to me, to convince his lady that if what we waited for came to pass, we should be able to stand our ground, whatever the parliament did; but if it did not come to pass, we should remain with this satisfaction, not to have occasioned disorders from which I could reap nothing but shame and ruin, and wherein the house of Bouillon could meet with no advantages but what were very doubtful.

We

We had almost done talking, when a note was brought me from the Vicar of St. Paul's, to inform me that Toucheprez, Captain of Mr. d'Elbeuf's guards, had scattered some money among the journeymen of the Rue St. Antoine, that they might go the next day to cry down the peace in the court-hall. Mr. de Bouillon in concert with me, writ at that instant to Mr. d'Elbeuf these few words upon the back of a card, to express his haste: 'There is no safety for you to-morrow at the parliament.' This brought Mr. d'Elbeuf immediately to Mr. de Bouillon's, to know the meaning of it. Mr. de Bouillon told him, that he had just then notice given him that the people had a fancy that both Mr. d'Elbeuf and he held intelligence with Cardinal Mazarin, and that he thought it therefore injudicious to venture the next day among the crowd which the parliament's deliberation would infallibly bring into the court-hall. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who knew that he had but few for him among the people, but who likewise knew that he should not be much safer by keeping at home than going abroad, said, that he was afraid that his not appearing upon such an occasion would be taken notice of to his prejudice. Mr. de Bouillon, who had no other purpose in this than to put him in fear of a commotion, took hold of his words to make the more sure of him by another means. He said that he was persuaded as well as he, that it would be best for him to go to the parliament, but that he ought not to go thither like a dupe; that his best way therefore, was to go thither in company with me; upon which the Duke de Bouillon desired that the matter might be left to his management, promising to find out a way that should appear unaffected, even to me, for our going together.

The next day, which was the 28th of February, I went to the parliament with Mr. d'Elbeuf, and I found in the hall a crowd of people, crying: *Long live the Coadjutor: no peace; no Mazarin.* Mr. de Beaufort happened to come in at that same time by the great stair-case, and as his name was made to resound with mine, that gave occasion to think that what was but a mere effect of chance, had been projected in concert by us, with an intent to disturb the parliament's deliberations. In that manner, and because *in cases of sedition, what makes it to be believed, serves to increase it*, we were like to do in an instant what we had laboured to prevent for above a week.

The first President, and the President de Mesmes, who jointly with the other deputies had suppressed the answer * which

* That answer is put down at length in the Fourth Volume.

which they had in writing from the Queen, by reason of some expressions in it which they thought too harsh, and which they were afraid might exasperate people's minds, set off with all the fine words they could, the obliging manner in which the Queen had spoke to them. After this, they went about to deliberate, and, after some contests relating to the power that should be given to the deputies, it was resolved that they should have a full and intire power; that the place which the Queen should please to appoint for a conference should be accepted of; that four presidents, two counsellors of the Grand Chamber, one of each Chamber of Inquests, one of the Chamber of Requests, either one or two of the Generals, two Counsellors out of each of the other sovereign Courts, with the Prevost-des-Marchands, should be named for deputies; that notice of this should be given to the Duke de Longueville, and to the deputies of the parliament of Rouën and of Aix; and that the King's counsel should be sent the next day, to demand the opening of the passages which the Queen had promised to grant. The President de Mesmes, surprized to find no manner of opposition either from the Generals or me, said to the first President: 'Here is a mighty harmony! But I fear the sequel of this pretended moderation.' I believe that he was still more surprized at what passed, after the usher of the court had acquainted the company that the people threatened to kill all those that should vote for a conference before Mazarin was expelled the kingdom. I went out with Mr. de Beaufort to oblige the seditious to retire, and the parliament rose and went away without any manner of danger. I was surprized myself at the easiness we met with on this occasion, but it brought the parliament to a pitch of boldness that was like to undo them.

The second of March, Champlatreux (son to the first President) brought to the parliament, by his father's direction, a letter from the Duke of Orleans, and another from the Prince of Condé, wherein both of them expressed their joy for the step that the parliament had taken, but wherein, at the same time, they denied that the Queen had promised the opening of the passages. I cannot represent the rage with which the company in general, and each particular member, were seized at the hearing of this news. The first President was shocked at this proceeding: he spoke of it with a great deal of anger to the President de Nesmond, whom the parliament had sent to him to desire him to write about it to the two Princes. Word was sent to the King's counsel, who were gone that morning to St. Germain's to get the necessary passes, that they should declare

declare that the parliament would not enter into any conferences till they had made good at court the promise made to the first President. I thought this was a fit time to put the company upon taking some steps which might convince the court that all their courage was not lost. I left my seat, under pretence of going towards the fire, and I desired Pelletier, brother to la Houssaye, to speak to old Broussel from me, and to tell him, that, considering how little the court was to be trusted, I advised him to propose the raising of more troops, and the giving out more commissions. That proposal was received with applause; the Prince of Conti was desired to deliver them, and six counsellors were named under him to go about it.

The third of March they applied themselves with eagerness to oblige people to pay their taxes, which nobody cared now to do, expecting that the conference would end in a peace. Mr. de Beaufort made use of this conjuncture, by the advice of the Duke de Bouillon, the Marechal de la Mothe, and myself, to try to give the parliament more life. He spoke to them in his own dialect, against the contravention, adding, that he promised them, both in his and the other Generals names, to open all the passages in a fortnight's time, if the company was pleased to come to a firm resolution not to suffer themselves to be any longer amused by deceitful proposals, which served only to suspend the motion in which the whole kingdom was, and its declaring in favour of the capital city, which it had done before now, had it not been for the rumour of their negotiations and conferences. The effect which these few words had upon every body's mind is not to be expressed. It was generally expected that they would have broke the treaty. But the thing took quite another turn in a few moments. The King's counsel came back from St. Germain. They brought passes for the deputies, and words without any meaning for the subsisting of Paris. For, instead of opening the passages, they granted leave for one hundred muids * of corn to enter every day into the town. They even left out affectedly the word, *every day*, in their first pass, that they might explain it as they found it convenient. These passes however were enough to satisfy the parliament. They no longer remembered what they had said a quarter of an hour before, and the deputies prepared themselves to go the very next day to Ruel, which was the place that the Queen had appointed for the conference.

We

* A muid of corn ought to weigh 2640 pounds.

We had a meeting the evening of that same day at Mr. de Bouillon's, where there were present the Prince of Conti, Mr. de Beaufort, Mr. d'Elbeuf, the Marechal de la Mothe, Mr. de Brissac, the President de Bellievre, and myself, to consider whether it was fit for the Generals to send deputies. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who had a mind to be himself deputed, insisted much upon sending. Nobody else was for it, because we thought it much the best to be left with a full liberty either to do or not to do it, as occasion should require. Besides, what could have been more injudicious than for us to send to the conference at Ruel, when we were upon the point of concluding a treaty with Spain, and every moment telling the Spanish envoy, that the reason for our suffering the conference was, because it was in our power to break it by means of the people the moment we pleased. Mr. de Bouillon, who began to go abroad, and who had that very day been to mark out the post where our troops should incamp, proposed the thing to the company, as if he had thought of it but in the morning. The Prince of Conti wanted resolution either to approve of it, because he had not consulted his Oracle, * or to be against it, because he durst not oppose Mr. de Bouillon in any proposal he made relating to war. Messieurs de Beaufort, de la Mothe, de Brissac, and de Bellievre, whom he had let into the secret, were mightily for it. Mr. d'Elbeuf was against it, and gave sorry reasons for his opinion. I joined myself to him, to cover our design the better, saying that the parliament might have reason to complain that such a thing was done without their having a hand in it. To that Mr. de Bouillon answered in a seeming anger, that far from that, the parliament had been complaining for three weeks together, that neither the Generals nor the troops durst attempt the shewing their heads out of the walls of the city; that he took no notice of the noise they made upon that account so long as he thought there was danger for our troops to incamp, but that having found a post where they might lie as safe as in Paris, and be of more use, he thought it reasonable to give the public satisfaction in that point.

The next day being the 4th of March, the deputies went to Ruel, and our army got out of Paris, and marched to the camp that was formed between the Marne and the Seine, the foot being posted at Villejuifve and Bicerstre, and the horse at Vitri and at Ivry. A bridge of boats was built upon the river at the Port-à-l'Anglois, with redoubts that had cannon in

* *Mr. de la Rochefoucault.*

in them. Those of the parliament that were well inclined to the party, were willing to think that our army would act with much more vigour, and those that were for the court fancied to themselves that the people wanting now the army to encourage them, would grow more supple. Even at St. Germain's they fancied the same, and the President de Mesmes magnified mightily there what he had said in the parliament to oblige the Generals to draw their army out of the walls of Paris. Senneterre, who was the man of the court that understood things the best, and who found out quickly for what end we had done it, was not long before he undeceived them. He told the first President and the President de Mesmes, that they were both made fools of, and would quickly perceive it. I must, for the sake of truth, take notice here of the very words that gentleman used, which will shew what his capacity was. The first President, who was a plain down-right man, that never extended his views to two things at once, hearing of the camp at Villejuifve and saying with a mighty joy, that the Coadjutor would now want many of his hirelings to cry him up in the Court-hall; and the President de Mesmes having added, ay, and many of his cut-throats; Senneterre answering them both, said these words; 'It is not, gentlemen, the Coadjutor's interest to kill you, but to subject you: the people alone would serve him for the first turn: the camp will serve him admirably well for the second. If he is not an honest man than he is thought here, the civil war will last a long time.' The Cardinal owned the next day that Senneterre was in the right, because the Prince of Condé found that our army that was not to be attacked at the post it was in, would be able to do him more hurt than if it had remained in the city, and because we began to speak higher than usual in the parliament.

We had an occasion offered us to do it the very afternoon of the day on which the deputies left Paris, which was, as I have said, the 4th of March. They got to Ruel by four in the afternoon, and at their coming they were told, that Cardinal Mazarin was of the number of those whom the Queen had named to assist at the conference. The deputies insisted, that after what the company had done against him, they would not confer with him. Mr. le Tellier told them, by the Duke of Orleans's order, that the Queen thought it strange that the parliament was not satisfied to treat with their King as with an equal, but would even limit his authority so far as to assume the liberty of excluding the deputies he named. The first President would not yield, nor the court neither, so that they were upon the point of breaking off.

We

We had notice given us of this by the President le Coigneux and Longueil, with whom we had a private correspondence. Our answer to them was that they should by no means yield, and that they should even shew as in confidence to the President de Mesmes and to Menardeau, who were both great dependants on the court, the end of a letter wherein I had writ these words to Longueil by way of postscript; 'We have taken our measures, and are in a condition to speak more roundly than we have hitherto thought fit to do; and this moment after my letter was writ, I have heard a piece of news which obliges me to tell you by way of advice, that the parliament will undo themselves if they do not go very wisely to work.' This, added to some discourse which we had held on the first of March in the Great Chamber, being by the fire-side, obliged the deputies to keep firm in refusing to admit the Cardinal to the conference, which article was so odious to the people, that we had lost all manner of credit with them had we suffered it; and if the deputies had yielded, we had been necessitated to shut the gates against them at their coming to Paris. The court relented when they found that the first President and his colleagues were in earnest about coming back, having demanded a convoy for that purpose. The Duke of Orleans sent for the first President and the President de Mesmes. They sought for some expedients, and they agreed that two persons of the King's side, and two of the deputies, should meet at the Duke of Orleans's, and confer there about the proposals made by either side; which conference they should report to the other deputies respectively. This medium, which did not ease the Cardinal of his vexation for not conferring with the parliament, and which obliged him to leave Ruel, and to return to St. Germain, was joyfully accepted.

I shall not fail to take notice of the principal deliberations that passed during the whole conference, which I shall mention in their order, together with what passed at that same time in the parliament, intermixing with it what other incidents may have relation with what passed either at the parliament or at the conference.

The fifth of March arrived at Paris Don Francisco Pizarro, a second envoy from Flanders, who brought with him the Archduke's and the Count de Fuensaldagne's answer to Don Joseph d'Illescas's dispatches. He likewise brought with him a full power to treat with every one, with private instructions for Mr. de Bouillon of fourteen sides of paper close writ, besides a very obliging letter which he brought likewise from the

the Archduke to the Prince of Conti, and a billet for me from the Count de Fuensaldagne very well turned, but at the same time very substantial. The Count said that the King his master declared that he would not confide in my promise, but would put an entire trust in what I should promise Madam de Bouillon. The instructions which I have mentioned expressed the perfect confidence he reposed in me, and I found out the Duke and Dutchess of Bouillon's hand in Fuensaldagne's characters.

Two hours after the arrival of this second envoy, we all met at the Town-house in the Prince of Conti's apartment, in order to come to a final resolution, and the scene there was curious enough. The Prince of Conti and Madam de Longueville, acting as Mr. de la Rochefoucault suggested to them, were willing to bind themselves to Spain, almost without any restriction; and because their measures with the court, which they thought to have brought to pass by the means of Flamarin, came to nothing, they run headlong into another extreme. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who had no other view than that of getting money, was for any thing that looked that way. Mr. de Beaufort, inspired by Madam de Montbazon, who meant to sell him dear to the Spaniards, made a scruple to sign a treaty with the avowed enemies of the kingdom. The Marechal de la Mothe declared, that he could come to no resolution without the concurrence of Mr. de Longueville, and Madam de Longueville doubted much that her husband would concur in this. These were the same persons who a fortnight before had unanimously resolved to ask for a full power from the Archduke in order to treat with him. Mr. de Bouillon told them, that he did not imagine that they could be in the least suspence about treating, after the steps which they had taken towards the Archduke: that he desired them to remember that they had all told his envoy, that they staid but for a full power, and for the hearing his proposals, in order to sign a treaty with him: that the Archduke had granted all that they had asked, in the gallantest manner possible: that he went further, by causing his troops to march before any treaty was signed, and by his leaving Brussels, and marching himself to their relief: that he begged they would consider that the least step backwards, after such advances, might oblige the Spaniards to enter into measures as much against our safety as our honour: that the so ill concerted steps which the parliament took, gave us every day just reason to fear their abandoning of us: that but a few days ago, I had told them and convinced them, that

that Mr. de Beaufort's credit and mine with the people was fitter to do a sort of harm, which it was against our interest to do, than to put the party upon the foot we wanted: that he owned that the encamping of our forces would make us now be more regarded than we were before, but that those forces without some other potent help, at least in the beginning, were insufficient to make the party be thought as considerable as it ought to be: that it was therefore necessary to come to a treaty with the Archduke, and even to finish it, but not before we had well considered upon what foot to do it: that the Spanish envoys brought us indeed *Carte-blanche*, but that our business was to examine carefully in what manner we should fill it up: that they promised us every thing, because in a treaty the strongest side may promise whatever they please, but that the weakest side must be much more reserved, and must never promise any thing but what they are able to perform: that he was acquainted with the Spaniards, and had had to do with them before: that they were the people in the world with whom it was most necessary chiefly at first to preserve one's credit: that he should therefore be extremely sorry that their envoy should perceive the least glimpse either of Mr. de Beaufort and of the *Mareschal de la Mothe's* backwardness, or of the too great forwardness of the Prince of Conti and Mr. d'Elbeuf: that he entreated them all to leave him the management for some days of both the envoys; but as there was no reason that the Prince of Conti and the others should trust him alone, he desired that they would consent to his having me for his assistant, promising not to take one step but jointly with me: that I could not be suspected by any body, because I had publicly declared from the day that the civil war began, that I never intended to gain the least advantage by it, either whilst it should continue, or at the time that a peace was made.

This speech of Mr. de Bouillon's brought every one to be of his mind. We were (he and I) charged to confer with the envoy, and to give the next day an account to the Prince of Conti and the Generals of what we had done.

From the Prince of Conti's, Mr. de Bouillon brought me to his house, and brought likewise along with us Madam de Bouillon, whom we met at the Town-house. There we advised in what manner we were to act with the two envoys, and that was not an easy thing to determine, in a party of which the parliament was the body, when that body was actually in conference with the court. Mr. de Bouillon assured me, that the Spaniards would not come to relieve us,

before

before we had engaged not to lay down arms but together with them, that is, not till a general peace should be made. But what safety was there for us to enter into such an engagement, at a time when we were not sure that the parliament would not at every instant conclude a particular peace? 'Tis true, that we might for some time chicane with them, and retard their steps. But we had as yet no confirmation about Mr. de Turenne, whose design was much better known to us than the success it might have. We had besides an account that Anetonville, who commanded Mr. de Longueville's company of gens-d'-armes, and who was employed by that Duke to negotiate his affairs, had already been secretly at St. Germain's. We therefore had no ground that was strong enough on the side of France to build the project upon, of maintaining ourselves without, or rather against the parliament. Mr. de Bouillon (as I said before) might have found his private account in breaking with that body. But I observed, that he hearkened more to justice than to interest, which is a most rare disposition. Madam de Bouillon acted not so right as he in that matter, and these are the words which he made use of in answering her: 'Had I, Madam, the people of Paris at my disposal, and should I find my account in taking such steps as might be the ruin of the Coadjutor and Mr. de Beaufort, I should for their service and my own honour be obliged to make no further use of my advantage than what might consist with the preventing their ruin. This is not now the case: I have no influence with the people; they can govern them at their pleasure. You have heard for four days together nothing else, but that these gentlemen's interest is, not to be instrumental in subjecting the parliament. You ought to be convinced of this when you hear one of them say, that he will not charge himself to posterity with the shame of having delivered Paris into the hands of the Spaniards, only to become the Count de Fuensaldagne's chaplain; and when the other must be a greater idiot still than he is (if that be possible) should he resolve upon becoming a Spaniard by choice, bearing as he does the name of Bourbon. The Coadjutor has repeated this ten times over to you these last four days, and this to make you understand, that neither he nor Mr. de Beaufort are willing to ruin the parliament, by means of the people, because they are persuaded that they could not afterwards maintain themselves but by the support of Spain, whose care would be in a little time to discredit them with the public.' 'Have I taken you right?' (said Mr.

de

de Bouillon to me) Then continuing and addressing himself to me he said; 'This being granted, our business is to hinder the parliament from forcing us to do what we agree would be repugnant to our interest. We have taken measures to that effect, which we have room to hope will succeed. But if by the event we find ourselves deceived, and that the parliament signs, whether we will or no, a peace not only shameful but unsafe for us, what must we then do? I ask you this the more earnestly, because what we shall resolve upon will guide us in what we are now deliberating about, which is, in what proper manner we are to proceed with the two Spanish envoys in finishing our treaty.' My answer to Mr. de Bouillon was in the following words, which I myself writ down in the same room we were in, a quarter of an hour after they were spoken. 'If we cannot keep the parliament united to us by the measures which we have taken, and the motives we have so many times mentioned, I am of opinion, that rather than make use of the people to pull that body down, it were better to let them go on as their inclination leads them, and rely altogether on the sincerity of our intentions. I know that the world, which always judges by the event, will not think so well of those intentions as they deserve; but I know likewise that in many occasions we ought to hope for a good event, no otherwise than by doing our duty. I will not repeat here the reasons which shew so clearly in my opinion the rules which our duty enjoins in this conjuncture. They appear plainly, and in capital characters, as to what concerns Mr. de Beaufort and me. I will not pretend to read or explain what concerns you. Give me leave however to discover to you an observation that I have made, which is, That not one day passes, but at some time or other you are as little disposed to become a Spaniard, as I am. But on the other side, we ought, if possible, to guard ourselves against the tyranny of the ministers whom we have cruelly incensed. My advice is this: I would have the Generals sign, as soon as possible, a treaty with Spain, whereby that crown engages to bring their army into France as far as Pont-à-verre, so that it may be tied to do nothing, at least on this side that post, but in concert with us.'—

I had scarce made an end of pronouncing these last words, when Briquemaut came in and told us that there was in the next room an express from Mr. de Turenne, who had cried aloud, *Good News*, as he came into the court, but would say no more to him as they came up stairs together. The Express,

Express, who was a Lieutenant of Mr. de Turenne's regiment, would not tell us his news, but in a set speech, which he did but sornily. Mr. de Turenne's letter to Madam de Bouillon was very short: one that he wrote to me was not longer; and a paper folded like a memorial, and directed to Mademoiselle de Bouillon, his sister, was writ in cypher. We learned enough however to leave us no room to doubt but that he had declared himself; that his army, which was certainly the best in Europe, had done the like; and that Erlac, Governor of Brissac, who had opposed that design with all his might, had been obliged to retire into that place, with about a thousand or twelve hundred men, which was all that he could draw from the army to his side. A quarter of an hour after the Express was arrived, he remembered that he had a letter for me from the Viscount de Lamet, a near relation, and an intimate friend of mine. His letter was full of all the assurances possible, that things went as well as we could have wished; he added, That he was marching with two thousand horse directly to us, and that Mr. de Turenne was to follow upon a certain day, and to a certain place, with the rest of the army. Mr. de Turenne gave the same account to Mademoiselle de Bouillon in the paper that was writ in cypher.

I dare say, Madam, that you are amazed to see Mr. de Turenne, who all his life-time had not only been an enemy to faction, but who would never hearken to any thing that favoured the least of it, now declare himself of a sudden against the court, when he had the King's army under his command, acting therein, I am sure, in a manner which the Balafré* and the Admiral de Coligni, had considered more than once upon. But you will still be more amazed when I have owned to you, That to this day I am at a loss about the motive that put him upon acting in that manner, and when I have told you, That both the Duke and Dutcheß of Bouillon have most solemnly assured me, that all they knew of it was, that what he did was not any-wise in regard to them, and that

* Henry, the first of the name, Duke of Guise, was called Balafré, or Slashed Face, by reason of a wound he received in the left cheek at the battle of Dormans, and of which the scar remained so long as he lived. The Admiral de Coligni and he had been friends in their youth, but became enemies upon account both of glory and of religion. They were both of them heads of two different parties, the Admiral of that of the Huguenots, and the Duke of Guise of that of the league.

that Mademoiselle de Bouillon, who was the only confidant he had, either knew nothing of it herself, or always kept it secret. The manner in which he behaved himself in this affair, which he did not stand out for above four or five days, is likewise very amazing. I could never learn any thing about it, either from him or from those that failed him. It required a merit as eminent as his was not to be sullied by an action of this nature; and this example shews, That the malignity of vulgar souls is not always able to take away from extraordinary men the credit which in some occasions they even deserve to lose.

I reassume the discourse which I was making to the Duke and Dutcheß of Bouillon, when I was interrupted by the arrival of Mr. de Turenne's Express. 'I am of opinion,' (continued I) 'that if the Spaniards will engage to come as far as Pont-à-verre, and act nothing, at least on this side that post, but in concert with us, that we ought to make no difficulty of engaging, not to lay down our arms till a general peace be made, provided the Spaniards, will make good their promise to the parliament, to stand to their arbitration. That promise is but a meer song, but that song is necessary to us, because we may without much difficulty make something material of it. I would not have advised, a quarter of an hour ago, to have engaged so far with the Spaniards; and when the Express came, I was about proposing an expedient, which, in my opinion, would have satisfied them at a much less rate. But being assured by the news we have received, that Mr. de Turenne is master of his army, and that the court has none to oppose it, but that which lies before Paris, I am persuaded that we may not only engage with the Spaniards as far as they now desire, but that we ought to press them to it, should they not desire it. We have therein two advantages. The first is, that this engagement agrees as well with the private as with the public interest of our party, which does not often happen: the second is, that the several ways that tend to those two sorts of interests will quickly unite in one, which still happens more seldom. The true interest of the public is a general peace: that of the company is to see order restored; your interest, Sir, and that of the other Generals, and mine likewise, is to contribute to the advantages which I have mentioned, and to do it in a manner whereby we may not only be in reality, but appear the chief authors of it. All other advantages center in this one, and the way to obtain those other advantages is in my opinion not to seem desirous

desirous of them. You know what I have publicly declared,
 which is to refuse any private advantage that I might reap
 by our undertaking: I will make my word good to the full.
 You are not in a like case; you would have Sedan restored
 to you, in which you are in the right. The Duke de Beau-
 fort would be Admiral, and is in the right likewise. Mr.
 de Longueville has pretensions of his own; in God's name
 let him. The Prince of Conti and Madam de Longueville
 would live no longer in the Prince of Condé's dependance;
 no more they shall not. The way to obtain these several
 pretensions, is at first to forbear demanding them. You
 must apply yourselves wholly to the general peace; you
 must conclude your treaty with the Spaniards as soon as
 possible, and enter into the most positive and most sacred
 engagements; and for the greater satisfaction of the people,
 you must add to the article of the general peace, the exclu-
 sion of Cardinal Mazarin, their capital enemy; the Arch-
 duke must be desired to advance with all diligence to Pont-
 à-verre, and Mr. de Turenne into Champaign. We must,
 without losing one moment, propose to the parliament what
 Don Joseph d'Illescas has already proposed to them about
 the general peace; we must bring them to be of our opinion,
 which will be easy, considering the condition they will per-
 ceive that we are in; we must oblige the parliament to send
 word to their deputies at Ruel, either to obtain of the
 Queen the naming of a place for the holding conferences
 about a general peace, or to come immediately back to the
 parliament. I do not despair that the court, which will be
 reduced to the last extremity, will embrace that proposal;
 in which case is it not true, that nothing can be more glo-
 rious for us? I know very well, that if the court can be
 brought to this, the King of Spain will not leave matters to
 the arbitration of the parliament, as he now promises; but
 I dare answer, that what I was saying would prove true,
 that is, that that promise, which in itself is but a song,
 would however oblige the ministers to have a regard for the
 parliament, which could not but be very advantageous to
 France. If the court refuses that proposal, can they pre-
 tend to stand it out for two months together? Will not all
 the provinces that are already wavering, declare for us?
 And is the army that the Prince of Condé commands, in
 a condition to make head against the Spanish forces, and
 against Mr. de Turenne's army and our own? These two
 last armies, when they are joined together, will prevent any
 danger that we might with reason have feared from foreign

' forces, which will now be much more at our command than
 ' we at theirs, because we shall not want their aid for the
 ' keeping of Paris, which we shall the more surely reckon
 ' ours, because we shall be masters of it by means of the
 ' parliament, and by the same means masters of the people,
 ' who are never more yours than when you hold them by
 ' other hands than your own. Mr. de Turenne's declaring
 ' for us, opens the only way that may bring us to what
 ' otherwise we durst not so much as have thought of, which
 ' is an union betwixt Spain and the parliament for our de-
 ' fence, because by Mr. de Turenne's declaring, the propo-
 ' sal for a general peace becomes real and solid. His de-
 ' claring brings things to a possibility of coming to a good
 ' end; it gives us room to engage the parliament, with whom
 ' what we shall now do will one way or other prove advan-
 ' tageous. But there is but the present instant in which this
 ' engagement can prove either possible or useful. The first
 ' President and the President de Mesmes are absent, and it
 ' will be beyond comparison easier for us to bring the com-
 ' pany to pass any thing that we propose, whilst they are ab-
 ' sent, than if they were present: if those two Presidents
 ' perform faithfully the order that I have mentioned about
 ' a general peace; which we must oblige the parliament to
 ' send them, we shall find our account in it, and shall unite
 ' the whole body of the parliament together to go about
 ' that great work. If the court are absolutely resolved to
 ' reject that proposal, and those of the deputies that are de-
 ' voted to the court interest refuse to follow the parliament's
 ' directions, and to run the same fortune with us, we shall
 ' find no less our account in it another way; for, by sticking
 ' close to the body of the parliament, of which the others can
 ' be looked upon but as deserters, we shall become more
 ' and more masters of it. This is my advice, which I offer
 ' to set my name to, and to shew it the parliament, provided
 ' that you do not let slip the conjuncture in which alone it is
 ' good. For if any alteration on Mr. de Turenne's side
 ' should happen before I should shew it them, I should in that
 ' case oppose this advice with as much ardour as you see me
 ' propose it.'

Madam de Bouillon, who had hitherto found me too mo-
 derate for her purpose, was surprized to the last degree at this
 proposal, which appeared good to her, because it looked great.
 Whereupon the Duke said: ' Nothing, Sir, is finer than what
 ' you propose; there is a possibility in the thing, but it would
 ' prove pernicious to every one of us. Spain will spare no
 ' promise

promises to us, but will perform none, as soon as we are engaged not to join in any measures with the court, but towards a general peace. That peace is the only thing that the Spaniards have in view, and no sooner will they find means to bring matters to that point, but they will immediately forsake us. Now, if we enter at once into the engagements which you propose, nothing is more likely than to see a peace agreed upon in a fortnight's time, because it will be impossible for France not to consent to it, even over-hastily. But what will the sooner bring the peace about, is that I know most certainly that the Spaniards desire to have it at what price soever, and even upon terms so disadvantageous to themselves that it would surprize you. Taking this for granted, in what condition shall we find ourselves the moment that we have made or procured that peace? It will redound much to our honour, I own it. But will that honour prevent our becoming the objects of the hatred and detestation of our court? Will the house of Austria, think ye, take up arms again, when it sees both you and me clapped up in prison four months after the peace? Oh, but, say you, we shall stipulate such conditions with Spain, as will prevent our being used in that manner. I have, I think, answered that objection before-hand, by telling you that Spain is so much pressed inwardly by her domestic wants, that they would not stick one single moment to sacrifice to peace the most solemn promises that they might have made us; to which inconveniency I find no manner of remedy. Suppose that Spain fails us in making good their promise about the exclusion of Cardinal Mazarin; what will that expose us to? Will the honour of having brought about a general peace compensate with the people, (whose detestation for the Cardinal is well enough known) the evil of seeing him continue at the head of affairs, when our chiefest end in taking up arms was to destroy him? But suppose that the Cardinal is excluded, can you deny that we must, notwithstanding, remain exposed to the Queen's revenge, the Prince of Condé's resentment, and to all the consequences that actions of the nature of ours, may prompt an incensed court to against us? True glory is that alone which is lasting; the other is but like smoke; and of this second sort will that glory be, which we may reap by procuring a general peace, if we do not support it by settlements, which to the reputation of having intended rightly, will add that of our having acted wisely. Not but that I admire and esteem your disinterest-

edness, but I am sure that you would not approve of it in me, if it went as far as yours. There are sufficient settlements in your family: but cast your eyes upon mine, and consider my wife's condition as well as my own, and that of our children.'

I answered these reasons, by making use of all those which I thought I might find in abundance, of the regard that the Spaniards could not help having for us, by seeing us absolute masters of Paris, of an army of eight thousand foot, and three thousand horse, encamped at its gates, and of another army, the best disciplined of any in Europe, marching to our aid. I did whatever lay in my power to bring him over to my opinion: he did the like to bring me over to his, which was to let the Spanish envoys still think, that we were altogether resolved to enter into an engagement with them about a general peace, but at the same time to give them to understand, that we thought it much the best way to bring the parliament likewise to engage, which could not be done but by degrees, and insensibly. That in that manner we might amuse the envoys, by signing a treaty that would be but a preliminary to the intended one with the parliament, which preliminary treaty would consequently engage us as yet into nothing positive in relation to a general peace, though it would serve sufficiently to induce them to cause their troops to advance. 'My brother's army' (added Mr. de Bouillon) 'will advance at the same time, and the surprize which this will put the court into, will bring them there to an accommodation. And as by our treaty with Spain we keep a back-door open for ourselves, in relation to the parliament, we shall find means, if the court should not answer our expectation, to make use of that back-door, both for the public, and our own advantage.'

These considerations, though wise, and even profound, did not convince me, because the conduct which Mr. de Bouillon inferred from it, seemed to me impracticable. I conceived that he might indeed amuse the envoys, but I could not imagine how he could do the like with the parliament, who were actually treating

** That Lady had a great ascendant over the Duke her husband, who had married her purely for love, she being indeed of great quality, but without any fortune. She was a Roman Catholic, and soon prevailed with her husband to become one too, to the mighty grief of the dutchess Dowager of Bouillon, his mother, and of the prince Frederic of Orange his uncle, whose eldest daughter he might have married.*

treating with the court by their deputies at Ruel, and who from their highest flights, soon fell with a greater force into their usual desire after a peace. I conceived that nothing but such a solemn engagement as that which I had mentioned, could keep them from running on where they were led by their own inclination; but that engagement being against Mr. de Bouillon's scheme, and the parliament consequently being left to their own ways, we should, if any of our strings failed us, be necessitated to have recourse to the people, which I looked upon as the worst of all inconveniences.

As I was imparting this to Mr. de Bouillon, he interrupted me, and asked me, what I meant by saying: *If any of our strings failed us?* 'For example, Sir,' said I, 'if Mr. de Turenne should die suddenly, or if his army should desert him, which you know Erlac has taken much pains about, what would become of us if we had not brought, before this, the parliament to engage? We should become tribunes of the people for the first day, and the next Fuenfaldagne's servants. Remember, Sir, my old song, which is: *Every thing with the parliament, nothing without them.*' We contested in this manner for three or four hours together, without persuading each other, and we agreed to put off the debate to the next day, at a meeting at the Prince of Conti's in the presence of Messieurs de Beaufort, d'Elbeuf, de la Mothe, de Brissac, de Noirmoutier, and de Bellievre. I found myself very much troubled when I left Mr. de Bouillon. I was persuaded, and I am so still, that there was nothing solid in his way of reasoning. I thought that the consequence of it would be the opening a door to all manner of private treaties; but knowing the confidence which the Spaniards put in him, I doubted not but that it was in his power, by the turn he should give to his opinion, to bring the envoys to whatever he desired. My trouble was much increased at my coming home. I found there a letter in cypher from Madam de Lefdiguieres, wherein she made me immense offers from the Queen; the payment of all my debts, several abbies, and my nomination to the cardinalship. In a little note writ separately, I found these words: 'The army in Germany's declaring for you, puts every body here into a consternation.' I judged that trials would be made upon others, as well as upon me; and finding that Mr. de Bouillon began to seek for small doors to enter in at, at a time when every thing prospered with us, I thought that others would hardly refuse entering at the large doors, which I doubted not but would be opened to them, by reason of Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us.

What

What grieved me most was, that I could not reach the bottom of Mr. de Bouillon's mind and design. I had hitherto thought the first brighter, and the second vaster, than they appeared to me in this conjuncture, which certainly was a decisive one, since the point was to bring the parliament either to engage or not to engage. He had pressed me twenty times to do what I now offered to do, and my reason for acting so was his brother's declaring for us, which ought to have still a greater weight upon him than upon me. But instead of that, it works a contrary way, because he thinks that this will move Mazarin to restore him Sedan. He is altogether intent upon the recovering of that, and he prefers a small interest to the great one which he might find in giving peace to Europe. That step of his has obliged me to say in another place, that though he was a man of very great parts, I doubted whether he was as capable as it was believed, of all the great things he has not performed. *Nothing hurts a great man so much, as the not taking hold of the critical moment on which reputation depends. The missing of it seldom proceeds from any other cause than the being over eager in minding the critical moment on which one's fortune depends, in which you commonly are doubly deceived.* Mr. de Bouillon's desire to act cunningly in this occasion, prevented, in my opinion, his acting wisely; and it is what happens pretty frequently.

We met the next day at the Prince of Conti's. Madam de Longueville, who had been brought to-bed of a son above six weeks before this, and in whose chamber we had debated affairs above twenty times, was not present at this meeting, and I could not but fancy that there was some mystery in her absenting herself. The matter was debated by Mr. de Bouillon and me upon the same principles as it had been at his house. The Prince of Conti was of Mr. de Bouillon's opinion, and spoke in a manner which made me judge that there was some negotiation on foot. Mr. d'Elbeuf was as gentle as a lamb, and seemed as if he would have gone further still than Mr. de Bouillon in his opinion, if he durst have done it.

The Chevalier de Frages, brother to the old Madam de Fiennes, who served in our party as a double spy, though he bore the title of commander of the regiment d'Elbeuf, had informed me, as I was entering the town-house, that he thought that his master had made his accommodation. Mr. de Beaufort gave me to understand by his behaviour that Madam de Montbazon had been tampering with him. But as I was sure that my power over him was greater than hers, I had not been troubled to see him at first somewhat waver-

ing;

ing; and by adding his voice, as I might have done, to that of Messieurs de Brissac, de la Mothe, de Noirmoutier, and de Bellievre, who all declared for my opinion, I had carried it by much, if the consideration of Mr. de Turenne, who at that instant was our chiefest dependance, as well as the consideration in which Mr. de Bouillon was with the Spaniards by the measures he had all along kept with Fuensaldagne, had not obliged me to do with a good grace what I could not otherwise have avoided. I had been with the Spanish envoys the day before, to try to discover whether they continued still as much bent as I had found them before, and as Mr. and Madam de Bouillon had represented them to be, to enter into no treaty with us, but only upon our engagement not to lay down our arms till a general peace was concluded. But I found them absolutely changed. They were indeed, still for treating about a general peace, but they would have it done after Mr. de Bouillon's manner, which was to do it at twice. That gentleman had put it into their heads that it would be much more advantageous to them in that manner, because we should not fail that way to engage the parliament. In short, I found out by whose means they were so altered, and I saw plainly that these reasons, with the order they had to conform themselves in every thing to Mr. de Bouillon's opinion, would outweigh by much all that I could say to the contrary. That hindered me from opening myself to them. I went betwixt twelve and one at night to the President de Bellievre's, and I carried him along with me to Croissi's, that we might be there more at liberty. They both were of my opinion, without the least hesitation, but though they thought as well as I, that a contrary way would infallibly prove our ruin, they however thought it inconvenient for the present to come into it, because our whole dependance was upon the Spaniards and Mr. de Turenne, whose motions were as yet governed by none but Mr. de Bouillon. They both were willing to think, that we should oblige Mr. de Bouillon the next day, being then to meet together, to come over to our opinion, or that we should be able to persuade Mr. de Turenne to it as soon as he had joined us. As for my part, I was the less inclined to flatter myself in that manner, because what I feared most of Mr. de Bouillon's conduct was very likely to happen before Mr. de Turenne's arrival. Croissi, who was a man full of expedients, said to me: 'You are in the right, Sir, but a thought is now come into my head: in the preliminary treaty which Mr. de Bouillon proposes, do you intend to be one that signs?' 'No, Sir,' answered

answered I. 'Well then,' replied he, 'take hold of that opportunity to let the envoys know the reasons you have to refuse to sign. These reasons would without doubt convince Fuenfaldagne, if he was present, that the true interest of Spain is to follow the way you propose. It may happen that the envoys, when they have heard you, will desire time to inform the Archduke of your reasons; and in that case, I dare answer that Fuenfaldagne will approve of them, and that Mr. de Bouillon must consequently submit his reasons to yours. Nothing is more natural than what I propose, and the envoys themselves will not perceive thereby that there is any division in the party, because what you will say will not appear to be in contradiction to Mr. de Bouillon's advice, but only in your own justification for your refusing to sign.'

Finding little or no inconveniency in this expedient, I resolved at a venture to make use of it, and the next morning I desired the Duke de Brissac to go and dine with Madam de Bouillon, and to tell her unaffectedly, that he saw me a little wavering about the signing the preliminary treaty with Spain. I made no doubt but that wavering would please the Duke de Bouillon, and would put him upon pressing me to sign it as well as the others, whereby he would open me a way to explain myself in the presence of the envoys.

This is the disposition I was in at our conference at the Prince of Conti's. When I found therefore that neither Mr. de Bessievre nor I could persuade Mr. de Bouillon, I seemed to yield both to his reasons, and to the authority of the Prince of Conti who was our Generalissimo. We agreed to treat with the Archduke upon the foot which Mr. de Bouillon proposed, which was, that the Spaniards should advance as far as Pont-à-verre, and even further, when our Generals should require it; and that our Generals on their side, should do what they could to oblige the parliament to come into the treaty, or rather to come to a new treaty about a general peace; that is, to oblige the King to treat about it upon reasonable terms, the particulars of which the Spanish King left even to the arbitration of the parliament. Mr. de Bouillon took upon him to get this treaty, as plain as I mention it here, signed by the envoys. He did not so much as ask me whether or no I intended to sign it. All the company seemed well pleased to be succoured by Spain at so cheap a rate, and to be left at liberty to accept the proposals which Mr. de Turenne's declaration obliged the court to make in a profuse manner to every one. The company agreed that the treaty should

should be signed at midnight, at the Prince of Conti's chamber at the Town-house. The envoys failed not to meet us all there at the appointed time; and I took notice that they observed me in a very particular manner. Whilst Croissi was engrossing the treaty, Don Joseph d'Illescas turned himself towards me, and asked me whether I would not sign it? To which answering, that the Count de Fuenfaldagne had forbid it me in Madam de Bouillon's name; he said very seriously to me, that my signing was required as a necessary preliminary, and that the dispatches that he had received not above two days ago from the Archduke, mentioned it in most express terms. I perceived by this the effect which what I had desired the Duke de Brissac to say to Madam de Bouillon had produced. Mr. de Bouillon pressed me extremely to sign. I then took hold of this opportunity to let the Spanish envoys see what their true interest was, by proving plainly to them that there was so little safety for me, as well as for the whole party, in the measures now taken, that I could not join with the rest, at least so far as to sign, I repeated before them the offer that I had made the day before, to sign any thing without exception, provided the resolution were final and decisive. I did my best to give them some mistrust, but without seeming to do it, of the doors which this preliminary treaty opened to every one for making their particular treaties with the court.

Though what I said was only by way of recital of what had passed, and not at all as if I designed to oppose what had been resolved upon, it made however so strong an impression upon the mind of the Bernardine, that Mr. de Bouillon seemed concerned at it. The other envoy, who had brought from Brussels new orders for them to follow intirely Mr. de Bouillon's advice, pressed his colleague to do it, which he did without any great resistance, and I advised him myself to do it, when I saw that he would have done it of his own accord. I added, that to take off any scruple that might arise from the difficulty I made to sign, I gave them my word, that if the parliament came to an accommodation with the court, I would by some expedients that I had in hand, give them all the necessary time for the withdrawing their troops. I made this offer for two reasons: the first, because I was persuaded that Fuenfaldagne, who was a cautious man, would not be at all of the envoys mind. nor engage his army so far into France, when he had so little promised him from our Generals, and nothing from me: my second reason was,

the desire I had of shewing even to our Generals, that I was resolved not to suffer, if I could help it, any treachery to be used against the Spaniards, whom I undertook therefore to protect, even in case the parliament came to an accommodation, though I had declared above twenty times during this conference that I could not separate myself from that body, which was indeed the only cause of my refusing to sign a treaty which they came not into.

Mr. d'Elbeuf said aloud to me; 'You can find only in the people the expedients which you just now mentioned to these gentlemen.' 'You are mistaken,' answered I, 'and Mr. de Bouillon will be security for me, that as to that matter I shall have no recourse at all to the people.' Mr. de Bouillon, who was very desirous that I should sign, replied: 'I know, that it is not your intention; but I am persuaded that you act against your intention without knowing it, and that by signing we express a greater regard for the parliament than you do by not signing: for' (added he to me in a low voice, for fear the envoys should hear him) 'we keep a back-door in reserve, to bring ourselves off with the parliament.' 'The parliament,' answered I, 'will set that back door open, when you would have it shut, as it appears already, without leaving it in your power to open it or shut it at your pleasure. That company is not to be played upon'—At these last words the Prince of Conti called us. The treaty was read, and signed without any appearance of any body's having been bribed to do it. But I have heard since from Don Gabriel de Toledo, that the envoys had presented Madam de Montbazon with two thousand pistoles, and Mr. d'Elbeuf with as much.

I came back to my house, grieved at what had passed. The President de Bellievre, and Montresor whom I found there, was no less grieved than I. The President said then a thing which proved but too true by the event, and which deserves to be taken notice of. 'We have, said he, missed this day engaging the parliament, with whom all was good and safe: God grant that every thing goes right, for if but one of our strings fails us, we are undone.' Just as Mr. de Bellievre had done speaking, Noirmoutier came to us, and told us that since I had left the Town-house a valet-de-chambre of Laigues's was come thither to seek for me, but not finding me, that he had mounted his horse again, and was gone without speaking to any body. You must observe that Laigues, who was a very brave man, but of no great sense,

sense, and who from the time that he sold his post in the guards had stuck very close to me, took a fancy, as soon as the Bernardine monk was sent as envoy to us, to go to Flanders as from me, to negotiate there, thinking thereby to become considerable in the party. He asked me for that post, and he obliged Montresor, who designed him from that instant to another post in Brussels, which was to be Madam de Chevreuse's lover, to press me about it. It was not without pains that I was persuaded to it, chiefly because he must be empowered by me to treat there. However I was forced to yield to his and to Montresor's instances, this last representing to me that Madam de Chevreuse might become useful to me in time; that she happened to be now without a lover; and that that place might be soon filled up by some other who was not in my dependance as Laigues was: and so I came to send him to reside at the Archduke's court. His valet-de-chambre brought me a most pitiful dispatch from him. He magnified the Archduke's good intentions and Fuenfaldagne's sincerity, representing how much we ought to confide in them. In short, I never saw any thing so silly. The poor man fancied already that he governed Fuenfaldagne. I leave you to judge how agreeable it was to have such a man for a negotiator, at a court where we were like to have affairs of more than one sort. Noirmoutier, who was his intimate friend, owned that Laigues's letter was impertinent, without reflecting that it put him himself at that instant upon a very impertinent design. For it came into his head to go likewise to Brussels, saying that he confessed it was inconvenient to leave Laigues there, but that it would be a piece of rudeness to recall him, or even to send him a colleague, except that colleague was his particular friend and of a degree altogether above his. This Noirmoutier said, but what he had in his thoughts was, that he hoped to distinguish himself in a post that would bring him into the way of negotiating, without taking him from his employments in the army, and that would give him the whole trust of the party in regard to Spain, and the whole consideration of Spain in regard to the party. We did what we could to remove that thought from out of his head, but in vain: he would have it so, and so it was, because we could not help it. He bore the name of la Trimouille, which is a great name; he was a Lieutenant-General; he made a figure in the party, which he had entered into and continued in by my means. *This is one of the inconveniences of civil wars: one is often forced to commit faults that proceed from good conduct.*

The

The conference at Ruel began as ill as could be. The deputies pretended that the court did not keep their word about opening the passages, nor would not even suffer the hundred muids of corn to pass freely. The court maintained that they had made no such promise as to cause the passages to be opened, neither was it their fault that the corn did not pass. The Queen, as a preliminary to the raising of the siege, asked that the parliament should engage to go and hold their sittings at St. Germain for as long a time as the King pleased, and should forbear their assemblies of chambers for three years. The deputies with one consent rejected these two demands, which the court receded from that very afternoon. The Duke of Orleans told the deputies that the Queen was willing to remit the transferring the parliament to St. Germain, and would be content that when every thing was agreed upon, they should only go once thither to hold a bed of justice to verify the declaration relating to the designed accommodation. And as to the forbidding for three years the assemblies of the chambers, the Queen likewise reduced that to two. The deputies did not contest much upon the first article, but refused to yield to the second, alledging that the privilege of the chambers assembling was essential to the parliament. These contests, with many others that happened, exasperated people to that degree when they were known at Paris, that nothing less was talked of, round the fire in the grand-chamber, than of revoking the power given to the deputies. The Generals likewise (who finding themselves sued to by the court, by whom they had been but little minded before Mr. Turenne's declaring for us, doubted not but that they should still mend their condition much, when they found the court still more embarrassed) did all they could to incense the parliament and the people, to let the Cardinal see that all did not depend upon the conference at Ruel. I contributed to that design with a view of regulating or rather moderating the precipitation with which the first President and the President de Mesmes were running into every thing that looked like an accommodation.

What passed in the parliament on the 8th of March was very considerable. The Prince of Conti told the company that Mr. de Bouillon, who was fallen ill again of the gout, had desired him to acquaint them that Mr. de Turenne offered them his person and his army against Cardinal Mazarin, the enemy of the state. To that I added, that being just then informed that they had prepared the day before a proclamation at St. Germain, whereby Mr. de Turenne was declared

declared guilty of high-treason, I thought it necessary to annul that proclamation; to authorise in a most solemn manner by an arrest, Mr. de Turenne's declining for us; to injoin all his Majesty's subjects to give his troops a free passage and subsistence; and to go incessantly about providing a fund for the payment of his army, and for preventing the ill effect which 800,000 livres that the court had just sent to Erlac in order to bribe that army, might produce. That proposal pass'd with a general consent. It is impossible to express the joy that appeared in every body's looks as well as their expressions. The company put out a very severe arrest against Courcelles, Lavardin, and Amilly, who were levying troops for the King in the province of Maine. Leave was given to the people to assemble at the hearing any alarm-bell, and to fall upon all those that should meet together without the parliament's order.

This was not all; for the President de Bellievre having acquainted the company that he had received a letter from the first President, wherein he assured him that neither himself nor any other of the deputies would do any thing unworthy the trust reposed in their hands; there arose a public cry, rather than a voice, ordering the President de Bellievre to send express word to the first President not to hearken to any new proposal, nor to come to any resolution upon the old ones, till all arrears of corn in the manner it had been granted, had been intirely delivered; and till all the passages and highways had been opened and made free, for the messengers to go, and provisions to come in.

The 9th of March they issued out the arrest for putting a stop to the conference, till the promises for opening all passages, as well for the coming in of corn as for all other manner of provisions, should be entirely fulfilled. It was with some difficulty, that the most moderate of the company could obtain an additional clause to that arrest, which was, not to publish it till they heard again from the first President whether the passes about the corn had not been expedited, since their last hearing from him.

The same day the Prince of Conti acquainted the parliament, that Mr. de Longueville desired him to assure them that he would march away from Rouen upon the 15th of this month, and go directly to St. Germain's with an army of 7000 foot and 3000 horse. This occasioned an incredible joy in the company, who desired the Prince that he would however hasten the Duke.

The

The 10th, Miron, a deputy from the parliament in Normandy, came to the parliament with an order from Mr. de Longueville to tell the company that the parliament of Brittany had received with joy the letter and arrest of that of Paris, and that they staid only the coming of Mr. de la Trimouille, to put out an arrest for their uniting with them against the common enemy. He likewise acquainted them that the province of Mans, which had declared for the party, had sent deputies to the Duke de Longueville : for which good news Miron had the thanks of the whole company.

The 11th, a gentleman sent by Mr. de la Trimouille came to the parliament, and offered the company, in his master's name, 8000 foot and 2000 horse, which, as he said, would be ready to march in two days time, provided that Mr. de la Trimouille had leave from the company to seize upon the King's money that was in the receiver's hands for the districts of Poitiers, of Niort, and of the other places which he was already sure of. The parliament returned Mr. de la Trimouille many thanks, and gave an arrest of union in his behalf with a full power for him to seize the King's money, requesting him at the same time to make all possible haste with his levies.

Mr. de la Trimouille's gentleman was scarce gone, when the President de Bellievre acquainted the company that the first President desired a new power to be sent him for going on in the conference, because the day before they had put out an arrest whereby he and the other deputies were ordered not to proceed. The parliament's answer to the President de Bellievre was, in short, that that power should be granted, but not till the quantity of corn that had been promised was received.

A moment after this, one Roland, a citizen of Rheims, who had abused personally and turned out of the city Mr. de la Vieuville * the Lord Lieutenant of the county, because he had declared for the court, presented a petition to the parliament, complaining of the officers that had informed against him upon that account. The parliament approved of what he had done, and promised him their protection.

By the heat you see the party is in you will at least think that it will require some time before it cools, and before the peace is made. Nothing like it: the peace is agreed on, and signed that very day, the 11th of March, by the deputies, who

* Charles, second of the name, Duke de la Vieuville.

who the day before had sent for a new power, because the old was revoked, and to whom that new power, had been refused.

The reason of a change so very sudden that it will scarce be believed by posterity, though people accustomed themselves to it in a very few days, was this:

Mr. de Turenne's declaring for us, had obliged the court to apply itself more eagerly than before about winning the Generals, in which they did not succeed as they expected. Madam de Montbazon being pressed by Vineuil in more than one manner, had promised to gain Mr. de Beaufort to the Queen; but the Queen knew very well that she could hardly make her word good, except I had a hand in the matter. La Riviere had ceased to express any contempt for Mr. d'Elbeuf. The Marechal de la Mothe could not be come at but by means of Mr. de Longueville, whom the court could not be so sure of by much, by the way of Anetoville, as we were by that of Varicardville. Mr. de Bouillon, since his brother had declared himself, had shewn a greater propensity than before for an accommodation with the court. Vassé, who, as I think, commanded his regiment of horse, had opened more than one way to communicate his demands at St. Germain. But these demands were thought very high. No small offers, you may be sure, could satisfy the two brothers, as matters went; and in the posts they were in. Mr. de la Rochefoucault's irresolution was little pleasing to la Riviere, who besides considered that no accommodation with the Prince of Conti could be much relied on, except it was likewise agreed to by the Prince of Condé, and that Prince was not to be easily satisfied about his brother's cardinalship. As for what concerns me, my answer to the offers made me by the channel of Madam de Lefdiguieres gave the court no room to believe that I could easily be won.

In short, Cardinal Mazarin found all overtures for a negotiation either shut up or embarrassed. This despair of succeeding, if I may say so, proved by the event more beneficial to the court than the most artful negotiation would have done. For the Cardinal, who went on negotiating, because his inclination led him altogether that way, trusted not to it however on this occasion so much as to make him neglect other means; that served him only to amuse our Generals, whilst in the mean time he was sending 300,000 livres, whereby he became master of Mr. de Turenne's army, and was persuading the deputies at Ruel to sign a peace, against the direction they had from the parliament. The President de Mesmes has assured me several times since, that
this

this peace was purely owing to a resolution taken betwixt him and Cardinal Mazarin, the night between the 8th and 9th of March. This is the manner in which he related the thing to me. Cardinal Mazarin having told him that he saw plainly that Mr. de Bouillon would come to no agreement till Mr. de Turenne was within reach both of Paris and of the Spaniards, that is, till he found himself in a condition to ask and obtain whatever he pleased, the President's answer was, 'There is no way of saving the kingdom, but by making the Coadjutor a Cardinal.' To that the Cardinal replied, 'The Coadjutor is worse than the other: for one sees at least a time when the Duke de Bouillon will come to a private agreement, but the other will never treat but when he does it for the General.' 'Since things are in this state' (said the President) 'we must do the work ourselves, and expose our persons to save the kingdom. We must immediately sign a peace; for after what the parliament has done to-day, there, there are no measures to be kept, and we may be recalled to-morrow. 'Tis true, that we expose our persons to the greatest danger, if we are disowned. The gates of Paris will be shut against us. We shall be tried and condemned as prevaricators, and traitors. Your business therefore is, to give us conditions that may justify our proceeding. All our interests are concerned in this, because, if the conditions are reasonable, we shall be able to cope the better with the factious. However I shall sign them in whatever manner you are pleased to have them drawn; and I am this moment going to the first President to acquaint him with the thing, and to tell him that it is my advice that we should act in this manner, and that there is no other means to save the state. If this succeeds, the peace is made; and in case we are disowned, this will at least weaken the faction, and the harm will fall upon nobody but ourselves.' The President de Mesmes, in telling me this, added, that what had passed at the parliament on the 8th, when they were acquainted there with Mr. de Turenne's declaring against the court, and what Cardinal Mazarin said of the disposition in which both Mr. de Bouillon and I were, brought this thought into his head, that the arrest given the 9th for putting a stop to the conference, and the heat that had appeared at Paris among the people on the 10th, had confirmed him in it, and that he had persuaded the first President, though with some difficulty, to take the same step.

The President de Mesmes accompanied this relation with so many particulars, that I believed it was true. The late

Duke.

Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé have indeed told me, that the obstinacy with which the first President and the President de Mesmes contested for some articles three whole days together, that is, on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of March, agreed but little with that resolution which the President de Mesmes pretended to have been concerted on the 8th betwixt Cardinal Mazarin and himself. Longueil, who was one of the deputies, was persuaded that the President de Mesmes's account was true. The Cardinal, to whom I mentioned the thing after the peace, confirmed it, with this exception, that he assumed to himself the honour of having corrected the President's advice, which of itself had been most dangerous, 'If,' said he, 'I had not penetrated into the sentiments of the Duke de Bouillon as well as yours. For I knew,' continued he, 'that your design was against ruining the parliament by means of the people, and that the Duke de Bouillon would do nothing till his brother's arrival.'

After many contests, the peace, as I said before, was signed upon the 11th of March, and it was with much difficulty that the deputies consented that Cardinal Mazarin should sign it, which he did, together with the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, who were the deputies named by the King. Here follow the articles.

I. The parliament shall repair to St. Germain, where a Bed of Justice shall be held, in which the declaration containing the articles of the peace shall be published, after which the parliament shall return to Paris, to perform its usual functions.

II. There shall be no assembly of the Chambers during all the year 1649, except for the reception of officers, and for the Mercuriales.*

III. All the arrests given by the parliament since the 6th of January shall remain null, as if the same had never been made,

* *A Mercuriale is an assembly which is made in the Sovereign Courts, the first Wednesday after the opening of the courts at the St. Martin's and at Easter, in which the President exhorts the Counsellors to render strict justice, and to observe the regulations, and in which he sometimes makes remonstrances, and gives correction to those who have been wanting to their duty. These assemblies were established by edicts from Charles VIII. Lewis XII. and Henry III. in order to be informed whether the ordinances had been observed.*

made, except such as relate to the common course of justice between private persons.

IV. All the Lettres-de-Cachet, declarations, and arrests, put out by the Upper Council, in relation to the present commotions, shall remain null, as if the same had never been made.

V. All the forces raised for the defence of Paris shall be disbanded immediately after the accommodation is signed; and his Majesty shall likewise cause his troops to retire from the neighbourhood of Paris.

VI. The citizens shall lay down their arms, and shall not take them up again without the King's order.

VII. The Archduke's deputy shall be sent back immediately, without any answer.

VIII. All writings and moveables that have been taken away from private persons, and that shall be found in being, shall be restored.

IX. The Prince of Conti, Princes, Dukes, and every one without exception, that have taken up arms, shall not be liable to be called to account for it upon any pretence whatsoever, provided that they declare within four days, to commence from the day that the passages shall be opened, and Mr. de Longueville within ten days, that they are willing to be comprized in this present treaty.

X. The King shall give a general discharge for all the money belonging to him that has been taken away, for all the moveables that have been sold, and for the arms and ammunition that have been carried away from the arsenal or other places.

XI. The King shall cause letters to be expedited for the revoking the Semestres * of the parliament of Aix, in conformity to the articles agreed upon the 21st of February, between his Majesty's deputies and those of that parliament, and of the country of Provence.

XII. The Bastille shall be surrendered into the King's hands, &c.

Mr. de Bouillon, to whom I went as soon as I had the news, was extremely surprized when he heard that the peace was signed: and his Lady, throwing herself upon his bed, cried

* The word Semestre signifies a term of six months, and the Semestres of a company are, when but half the members are permitted to assemble during six months, and the other half during the six other months.

cried out, 'Oh! who would have thought it! Would you, Sir?' said she to me. 'No, Madam,' answered I, 'I could not have thought that the parliament would have been so quick: but I believed, as you know, that they would make but a bad peace, if we let them alone: I was mistaken only as to the time.' 'Tis very true,' said Mr. de Bouillon, 'he has foreseen it, and said it over and over: we alone have done all the mischief.' I own that the hearing Mr. de Bouillon speak in this manner inspired me with a new sort of respect for him. *For in my opinion, a man shews himself greater by being capable of owing a fault, than by being incapable of committing it.* As we were about advising what was to be done in this conjuncture, the Prince of Conti, Mr. d'Elbeuf, Mr. de Beaufort, and Mr. de la Mothe, came into the room, knowing nothing of this piece of news. They came to impart to Mr. de Bouillon a design that St. Germain d'Apchon had formed upon Lagni, where he had some intelligence. They were mightily surprized at the signing of the peace, and they were the more so, because their private managers had been telling them for the two or three last days, according to the common stile of that sort of agents, that the court was persuaded that the parliament was but a cypher, and that it was with the Generals that they must agree at last. Vassé had assured Mr. de Bouillon of it, and Madam de Montbazon had received five or six letters from court that said exactly the same thing: It must be owned, that Cardinal Mazarin played and hid his game extremely well on this occasion, and he is in that the more to be commended, because he was to guard himself against the indiscretion of la Riviere, which was very great, and against the impetuosity of the Prince of Condé, which at that time was not small. The very day that the peace was signed, that Prince spoke to the deputies of the parliament in such a rough manner, that it was like to have spoiled all.

I come now to the conference which we held together at Mr. de Bouillon's. I have already told you, that that gentleman had immediately acknowledged to me that he was mistaken in his notions, and had not formed a right judgment of things. He did the like publicly to all that were present there. The others were far from acting so ingenuously, Mr. de Bouillon and I had the pleasure to observe, *That they answered their own thoughts more than what was spoke to them, which seldom fails to happen to those that are conscious that they have done things which they may justly be blamed for.* I was desirous that they should begin to speak first, and declare their opinion. I begged of the Prince of Conti
to

to consider that it belonged to him by all manner of reasons to open and shut the scene. He spoke so obscurely, that it was impossible to make any thing of what he said. Mr. d'Elbeuf enlarged very much, without concluding any thing. Mr. de Beaufort made use of his common place, which was always to say, that he would go roundly to work. Mr. de la Mothe's speeches never consisted in above six words. As for Mr. de Bouillon, he said, that as he knew none but me that could see to the bottom, into the sentiments of the parliament and of the people, he thought it necessary that I should discuss the whole matter, that they might afterwards the more easily come to some resolution. This is the substance of what I said :

‘ We have all acted in the manner we thought requisite, and we ought not to judge of things by the event. The power of the deputies was revoked before they signed the peace, which makes the peace void. We are as yet ignorant as to the articles, at least we have but an imperfect knowledge of them: but, by what was lately proposed, it is easy to judge that the articles agreed upon are neither honourable nor safe. This, as I think, is the foundation upon which we are to argue; and that being granted, I shall not hesitate in the least to say, that we are not obliged to keep to the agreement; but on the contrary, that we are obliged by all the arguments founded upon honour and common sense, to depart from it. The President Viole writes me word, that Mr. de Turenne, with whom the parliament gave but three days ago an arrest to unite, is not so much as mentioned in the agreement: that the Generals have but four days allowed them, and Mr. de Longueville and the parliament of Rouen but ten, to declare whether they intend to be included in it. Judge ye, if that article, wherein they are not even allowed time to think upon their concerns, is not absolutely abandoning them. We may infer from these two articles what the others are, and how infamous it would be to accept of them. Let us come to the means of refusing them, in a manner that will prove advantageous both to the public and to particular persons. There is no doubt but that these articles will be universally rejected, and even with rage, as soon as they are made public. But that rage, except we look to it, will undo us, because it will only amuse us. The parliament is at the bottom for peace, and 'tis only by fits that they are otherwise. The fit they are like to be in to-morrow will be terrible. If we fail to make use of that opportunity, that

‘ fit

' fit will soon be over, as we have seen others be, but with so
 ' much the greater danger this time, as it is like to be the
 ' last. We ought to judge of things to come by things
 ' past, and ought therefore to consider what all these fits of the
 ' company have commonly ended in. This brings me back
 ' to the opinion I always was of, which is to think only
 ' about a general peace; to sign this very night a treaty upon
 ' that foot with the Archduke's envoys; to carry that treaty
 ' to-morrow to the parliament, without taking any notice of
 ' the peace, which we may very well appear ignorant of, since
 ' the first President has sent as yet no account of it to any
 ' body; and to oblige the parliament to put out an arrest,
 ' whereby their deputies are commanded to insist only upon
 ' that point, and upon the exclusion of Cardinal Mazarin;
 ' and in case of a refusal, to come back to the parliament.
 ' The little satisfaction which that company has received from
 ' the proceedings of the court, and even from the conduct of
 ' their deputies, will work this effect, that what Mr. de
 ' Turenne's declaration would alone have made very possible,
 ' will now become so easy, that we need not stay (for the in-
 ' censuring that body the more) till the articles of this peace,
 ' which will infallibly raise their anger, are laid before them.
 ' Indeed my first view was to stay till that time; and when I
 ' began to speak, I designed, Sir,' (said I to the Prince of
 ' Conti) ' to have proposed to you, that you should make use
 ' of these articles to inflame the parliament: but I think it
 ' proper not to stay till then, because the rumour which we
 ' may spread this night of the Generals being abandoned,
 ' would raise a greater indignation in the minds of people,
 ' than the report of the deputies, which they will not fail to
 ' cover over with false colours.'

I was stopped here by the coming in of a messenger with a
 second letter from Viole, wherein I found the rough draught
 of all the articles which I have already mentioned, but so ill
 writ, that I could hardly read them. But another letter that
 was inclosed in the same packet, and which Lescüier, a
 master in the chamber of accounts, and one of the deputies,
 wrote to me, gave me an explanation of them. He gave me
 likewise notice by a separate note, that Cardinal Mazarin had
 signed the treaty. This account made all the gentlemen, with
 whom I was, the less doubtful of the ease there was to inflame
 the parliament. 'I own it (said I to them) but that does
 ' not make me change my opinion in the least, and I am
 ' the more confirmed, that we ought not to stay till the de-
 ' puties come back, in case you resolve to follow that opinion.
 ' I will

‘ I will tell you my reason: if you give them time to
 ‘ come back, before you declare yourselves for a general
 ‘ peace, you must likewise give them time to make their re-
 ‘ port, against which it will not be in your power not to
 ‘ rail. So that if to the proposal you are to make about a
 ‘ general peace, which will work extremely upon all people’s
 ‘ fancies, you add your complaints and railings at the depu-
 ‘ ties, you will incense the people to a degree that it will be
 ‘ out of your power to hinder them from tearing us in pieces, even
 ‘ in your sight, the first President, and the President de Mesmes.
 ‘ You will be reckoned the authors of that tragedy, and
 ‘ thereby make yourselves formidable the first day, and odi-
 ‘ ous the second.’

Mr. de Beaufort, to whom Brillac had whispered some-
 thing in the ear, interrupted me at this word, saying, ‘ There
 ‘ is a good remedy; let us keep the town gates shut against
 ‘ them when they offer to come back: all the people have
 ‘ been crying for nothing else for these four days.’ ‘ I am
 ‘ not of that opinion,’ (answered I.) ‘ You would be looked
 ‘ upon to-morrow as the tyrants of the parliament, even in
 ‘ the opinion of those of that company, that would join to-
 ‘ day with you in opposing the return of the deputies.’
 ‘ ’Tis true,’ (said Mr. de Bouillon) ‘ and ’tis what the Pre-
 ‘ sident de Bellievre was telling me this afternoon, adding
 ‘ besides, that it is necessary for what may follow, that the
 ‘ first President and the President de Mesmes may be looked
 ‘ upon as deserters of the parliament, and not as exiles.’
 ‘ I think him in the right’ (continued I;) ‘ for being looked
 ‘ upon as deserters, they will be abhorred as long as they
 ‘ live; when, as exiles, they will be pitied in two days time,
 ‘ and their return wished for in less than four.’ ‘ But I
 ‘ think it easy to reconcile all,’ (said Mr. de Bouillon.)
 ‘ Let us suffer the deputies to come back; let us suffer them
 ‘ to make their report, without falling into a passion; this
 ‘ will prevent our incensing the people. Your opinion is,
 ‘ that the parliament will not accept of their articles. No-
 ‘ thing will be more easy than to send them back to try whe-
 ‘ ther they cannot obtain better. By this means we shall do
 ‘ nothing precipitately; we shall gain time to look about
 ‘ us. We shall remain upon the same foot we are; that is,
 ‘ we shall still be in a condition to do what you now propose;
 ‘ and to do it to a better advantage, when the three armies,
 ‘ of the Archduke, of Mr. de Longueville, and of Mr. de
 ‘ Turenne are drawn nearer us.’

I no

I no sooner heard Mr. de Bouillon speak in this manner, than I guessed that he was relapsed into his fears of seeing the several interests of particular persons drowned in a manner in that only one of a general peace. This brought to my mind an observation which I had before made: *That it is more ordinary for men to have a speculative repentance for a fault that has proved unsuccessful, than a practical sorrow, whereby they might get rid of the impression which the motive that led them into that fault, never fails to make.* I took no notice however of what I knew to be the occasion of his speaking in the manner he had done. I only went on in my own way, by shewing the inconveniences that a delay would infallibly produce: the agitation of the people, which at every instant might push us on to things that would both disgrace and ruin us: the instability of the parliament, which would probably oblige them to accept in a few days the articles which they would to-morrow tear to pieces, if we went about putting them upon it. I added to that, how easy it would be for us to procure a general peace to all Christendom, having four armies in the field, three of which were ours independantly from Spain. And as for the fear which Mr. de Bouillon had lately expressed of being abandoned by Spain, as soon as the Spaniards had room to think that we had brought the Cardinal to the necessity of concluding a peace with them, I shewed how the three armies of which we had the disposal would prevent the Spaniards acting in that manner. I ended my discourse by an offer I made of sacrificing willingly my Coadjutorship to the Queen's resentment, and the Cardinal's passion, if the gentlemen would enter into the measures I proposed. 'Tis what I would have done joyfully, for such an honour as the contributing to a general peace must have proved; besides, I was not sorry to expose a little the shame of those who for the sake of their private interest put a stop at this juncture to the most shining, the most glorious, and the most advantageous thing in the world. Mr. de Bouillon made use against me of the same reasons that he had done before, when we first contested that matter; and he ended his discourse in these words, 'I know that my brother's declaration may occasion people to think that I have great views as well for him as for myself and our whole house. Neither am I ignorant that what I have said about the necessity which I think there is to come to no decisive resolution before he is advanced with his army nearer to us, will confirm every body in that opinion. Nay, I own myself, that I have something like that in my view, because I am persuaded that it is lawful for me to have it. But I consent
' that

‘ that you all proclaim me for the greatest wretch, if ever I
 ‘ come to an accommodation with the court, till you have
 ‘ all declared to me that you are satisfied, and I desire the
 ‘ Coadjutor here to disgrace me, if I do not keep my word.’

This declaration could not bring the whole company to be altogether of Mr. de Bouillon’s opinion, which however was accepted because of this one point, that it left a door open for private negotiations, which every one had either already begun, or hoped to begin, in their own way, ‘ besides its
 ‘ leaving my proposal to have recourse to, as a resource for
 ‘ the last.’ * *The most common view that people have when
 ‘ they commit imprudent actions, is the impossibility of finding
 out always some resource or other.* I might have brought, if I had pleased, the Duke de Beaufort and the Mareschal de la Mothe to my opinion. But the consideration of Mr. de Turenne’s army, and of the trust that the Spaniards put in Mr. de Bouillon, being such, that it had been foolish even to imagine that any thing considerable might be done in opposition to the advice of this last. I resolved to yield with respect to the Prince of Conti’s authority, and to the majority of voices. The resolution they came to, of avoiding to enter into any particulars the next day at the parliament, was very prudent. The Prince of Conti was to take notice there, only in general, of the report that was current about the peace signed at Ruel, whereby he thought himself obliged to send likewise deputies thither, as well concerning his own interest as that of the other Generals. Mr. de Bouillon thought it proper for the Prince of Conti to speak in this manner, that the parliament might not perceive in the Generals any dislike to a peace. He had another view in it, which was to have more room left for finding fault with the particular articles; thinking by the first way to satisfy the parliament, who always inclined to a peace, even at the time they disliked the conditions; and by the second to please the people. ‘ In this manner,’ said he, ‘ we shall keep things at a stand, till we see a proper time to push them forward.’ At this he turned himself towards me, asking me if what he had said was not right? ‘ Very right,’ said I, ‘ and a true consequence of what you propose to do: but I think something better might be done.’ ‘ No,’ replied Mr. de Bouillon; ‘ and supposing it possible for my brother to be with us in three weeks time, I am sure that you yourself will not think so.’ ‘ ‘Tis needless to dispute,’ said I, ‘ it has been decided your way:’

* *This is added to compleat the sense.*

way : but God alone knows whether your brother will ever join us.' I spoke this so much at random, that I myself could not but take notice of it, and seek out upon what ground I said it, at a time when nothing seemed more sure than Mr. de Turenne's coming : 'tis certain, however, that I had had all along some doubts about it. We staid at Mr. de Bouillon's from eleven at night, that is, as soon as I had notice sent me of the peace (which was signed at nine) till three in the morning, and then we parted.

The next day, which was the 12th of March, the Prince of Conti said in a very few words to the parliament what was resolved upon at Mr. de Bouillon's. Mr. d'Elbeuf enlarged upon what the Prince had said. We affected (Mr. de Beaufort and I) not to explain ourselves upon any thing, and we experienced that what I had foretold of the people's commotion was but too well grounded. Miron, whom I had desired to be upon the watch, could hardly refrain from insulting the deputies at their coming into the street St. Honore, and I repented more than once, my spreading about early that morning the articles that were the most odious, with the circumstance of Cardinal Mazarin's signing the treaty. You have seen the reason why we thought fit to act in this manner, but it must be owned, *that a civil war is one of those complicated diseases, in which a remedy applied for curing one of the symptoms, often proves pernicious to several others.*

The deputies came not to the parliament till the 13th, where they found the company in a great emotion. Mr. d'Elbeuf, who was exasperated at some letters from St. Germain which he had received late at night upon the 12th, asked them roughly, (contrary to what had been resolved at Mr. de Bouillon's) whether they had done any thing in relation to the interest of the Generals ? In answer to that, the first President was going to read the verbal process of all that had passed at Ruel, but he was interrupted by the general noise of the company, who cried unanimously that there was no peace made, because the power of the deputies was revoked, and because they had basely abandoned the Generals, and all those to whom the company had granted arrests of union. The Prince of Conti said with moderation enough, that he wondered they had concluded without him and the other Generals. The first President replied, that the Generals had all along protested, that they had no separate interest from that of the company, and that besides they were left at liberty to send their own deputies. Mr. de Bouillon, who came abroad that day for the first time after his illness, said,

that Cardinal Mazarin being left prime Minister, all the favour he asked of the parliament, was to procure him a pass for his retiring safely out of the kingdom. The first President told him that he had taken care of his interest, by insisting upon an equivalent for Sedan, which he might be sure to have; to which Mr. de Bouillon answered, that these were nothing but words, which would never persuade him to separate from the other Generals. The noise began again with such a fury, that the President de Mesmes, who was treated most reproachfully upon his suffering Cardinal Mazarin to sign, quaked for fear. This mighty noise stirred up the Duke de Beaufort and the Marechal de la Mothe. The first, putting his hand upon his sword, said, 'You may do what you please, Gentlemen,' (speaking to the deputies) 'this sword shall never be drawn in favour of Mazarin.' You see how much in the right I was when I was saying at Mr. de Bouillon's, that in the heat people would be in at the deputies coming back, we should not be able to rely for a quarter of an hour together upon any thing. I might have added, that we should not be able to rely on ourselves.

As the President le Coigneux was proposing to send the deputies back about what related to the interest of the Generals, and about the getting the articles which the company did not approve of, to be reformed, a great noise was heard in the court-hall, which alarmed the juggler, and put a stop to his speech. The President de Bellievre was about speaking in the same tone, but was interrupted by a second noise greater than the first. The tip-staff that waited at the door of the grand chamber, came in and said with a trembling voice, that the mob would speak with Mr. de Beaufort. He went out and made a speech to them that appeased them for a moment. But they began their noise again as soon as he had left them. The President de Novion stepping out to enquire what the matter was, met with one Du Boisle, a sorry advocate of so little note, that I had never heard him named before. He was at the head of a prodigious mob, most of whom had poniards in their hands, and he required the President to have the articles of peace delivered to him, that Mazarin's name might be publicly burnt by the common hangman, at the place where criminals are executed. He told him besides, that if the deputies had signed the treaty voluntarily they ought to be hanged, if not they ought to be disclaimed. The President de Novion, who was in no little trouble, represented to Du Boisle, that the Cardinal's name could not be burnt, without burning at the same time that

that of the Duke of Orleans ; but that they were sending the deputies back to get the articles reformed. Nothing was heard all this while in the hall, in the galleries, and in the palace-court, but a multitude of voices, crying : *No peace, no Mazarin ; we must fetch our good King from St. Germain's, and throw all the Mazarinians into the river.*

The first President shewed on this occasion a surprizing intrepidity. He found himself the object of the people's rage, and yet there was nothing in his countenance but what expressed an unshaken steadiness, and a presence of mind that seemed to be more than natural, and that had something in it superior to steadiness. He gathered the votes with the same liberty of mind that he would have done at any other time, and pronounced in the like manner the arrest of the company, formed upon the Presidents le Coigneux and De Bellevre's proposals. That arrest was, that the deputies should go back to Ruel, to treat about the pretensions and the interests of the Generals, and of all others that were joined to the party ; and to obtain from the court, that Cardinal Mazarin should not sign the new treaty, which they were to enter upon there, both upon that subject and upon any other that might be put again in agitation.

That arrest or declaration passed for that day undigested as it was, because the clock had struck five before they had done, though they were assembled by seven in the morning ; and because the people were so much incensed, that it was feared that they would break open the doors of the grand chamber. The first President was desired to go out by a back door, and go a bye way, which would bring him to his house unperceived by any body. But to this he answered in these words : ' The court never hides itself. Were I assured to perish, I would not debase myself in that manner. Besides, that would serve but to embolden the seditious : they would soon find me out in my house, if they thought that I feared them here.' And hearing me beseeching him not to expose himself, till I had tried to bring the people to a temper ; he said to me in a bantering manner : *Pray, my good Lord, speak a good word for me.* It is plain by this that he thought me the author of the sedition, in which he wronged me extremely. I felt however on this occasion nothing in me but what tended to an admiration of his intrepidity. I put him into the hands of Caumartin, that he might keep him till I came back. I desired Mr. de Beaufort to keep the door safe against the people's entering, or the parliament's

liament's going out. I went round by the Buvettes, * and when I was in the great hall, I got upon an attorney's bench, and beckoned to the people with my hand, at which silence was made, and every one prepared to hear me. I said all that I could to appease the sedition; after which Du Boisse came towards me, asking me audaciously if I would pass my word that the parliament would refuse to stand to the peace signed at Ruel: I told him that I was very sure of it, provided that the commotion ceased, but that if it continued, it would oblige those that had the best intentions for the party, to find out all possible means to avoid falling into such inconveniences. I acted in a quarter of an hour's time, a great many different parts. Sometimes I prayed, sometimes I spoke in a commanding tone, sometimes in a threatening one. At last, when I thought that I had at least some instants in my own power, I came back to the first President, whom I pushed before me, holding him embraced, whilst Mr. de Beaufort was doing the like with the President de Mesmes. We came away in that manner, the rest of the parliament following in a body with their under officers at their head. The people were extremely clamorous, and we heard even some voices mentioning the name of Republic; but nothing was attempted against us. Mr. de Bouillon run a greater risk than any body else, being near to have been shot by a scoundrel of the mob who took him for a Mazarinian.

On the 14th it was agreed, after great contests, that the verbal process of the proceedings at the conference, and at the passing the articles, which the day before nobody would hearken to, should be read the next morning.

That was performed on the 15th, but not without a great deal of heat and many sharp words. They agreed at last that an arrest should be put out in these words.

' The court of parliament has accepted the accommodation and the treaty, and has ordered that their deputies should return to St. Germain, to insist upon obtaining the reformation of some articles: that is, of that relating to the companies going to St. Germain to hold there a bed of justice: of that which forbids the assemblies of the chambers, which

* Places where the Counsellors of the Parliament go to warm and refresh themselves, and where none but Counsellors have the privilege to enter. There are other places adjoining to the parliament house, called likewise Buvettes, for those that have law-suits. Each chamber has its Buvette, which is kept at the King's charge.

his Majesty shall be most humbly desired to permit in some certain cases : of that which permits the loans, which is the most pernicious of all to the public, by reason of the consequences : and the deputies shall likewise treat about what relates to the concerns of the Generals, and of those that have declared for the party ; jointly with such deputies, as they shall please to send themselves to treat in their several names for their own private concerns.

The 16th, as that arrest was reading, Machaut, a Counsellor of the parliament, observed, that instead of the words, *to insist upon and obtain*, it was put down *to insist upon obtaining* ; and he asserted that the sense of the company was, that the deputies should *insist upon and obtain* ; and not that they should *insist upon obtaining*. The first President and the President de Mesmes asserted the contrary with obstinacy ; the heat was great in people's minds, but as they were putting the thing to the vote, Saintot, Lieutenant of the Ceremonies, delivered to the first President a letter from Mr. le Tellier, which expressed the satisfaction that the King had received for what the parliament had voted the day before, and that he had sent passes for the deputies which the Generals were to send. These few soft words calmed the tempest that had arisen, and there was no more said about the question which Machaut had moved. Miron, a counsellor and a deputy of the parliament of Rouen, who had on the 13th made his complaints in due form to the parliament, that a peace had been signed without the concurrence of the company of which he was member, and who came this day to renew his said complaints, could hardly be heard. The first President was only pleased to tell him, that if he had any memorial to deliver relating to the interests of his company, he might go along with them to the conference. The court rose after this, and the deputies went their way to Ruel in the afternoon.

I am now to tell you what passed at the Town-house the evening of this same day, which was the 16th of March. What had happened at the parliament upon the 13th had obliged the company to have the palace, that is the place where they hold their assemblies, guarded by the Colonel's companies belonging to the city, who were still more incensed than the mob against the Mazarinian peace (for so they called it ;) but from whom the parliament thought themselves in less danger, because the citizens, of which they were made up, were against pillaging. Those that were chosen that day for guarding the palace were taken from the neighbourhood, as having a greater interest than any to prevent any pillage, and it happened

happened in reality that I had them very much in my dependance. The reason of it was that I always had had a great regard for them, because they lived likewise in the neighbourhood of the Archbishop's palace, and because they outwardly appeared attached to Mr. Champlastreux, the first President's son, who was their Colonel. That choice therefore could not but be very uneasy to me, because it gave occasion to charge me with the insults which they sometimes threatened to commit, and because the preventing their tumult was more likely to be thought the work of Mr. de Champlastreux than mine, he being their Colonel: so that I had cause to fear of the one side to be blamed, and of the other I could not expect to be thanked. That situation is as rare as it is cruel, and it is perhaps one of the most uneasy I ever found myself in. That guard, so unhappily chosen, was ten times upon the point of insulting the parliament, and did in reality insult some particular members of that body. They threatened among others the President de Thore to throw him into the river. I slept neither night nor day in this conjuncture, my time being wholly spent in preventing the disorder. The first President and his adherents seeing things going on so quietly, grew so bold that they even took an advantage from it against us, provoking in some manner with their reproaches and complaints, the Generals, at a time when if the Generals had but answered loudly those complaints, it had not been in their power to prevent the people from tearing the whole parliament to pieces. The President de Mesmes tried to provoke them by saying that their troops had not acted with vigour enough; and Payen, a Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, spoke in a very impertinent manner to Mr. de Bouillon, who bore it with an extream moderation. That Duke however reflected seriously upon that usage, and told me, as we were coming together after the rising of the courts, that I knew the temper of the parliament better than he did. He came in the evening to the Town-house, and made there a speech to the Prince of Conti and the other Generals, of which this is the substance.

- I could never have believed what I see of the parliament.
- On the 13th, they refuse even to hear the peace of Ruel mentioned, and on the 15th they agree to it, abating a few articles. They send back, on the 16th, the same deputies that had signed that peace against their order, without setting any regulation or limitation to their power. They go further: They use us most opprobriously for complaining that they have treated without us, and that they have abandoned Mr. de Longueville and Mr. de Turenne.

• Nay

‘Nay this is but little : it is to us they owe their not being torn to pieces, and to save their lives we must hazard ours. I own that we ought in prudence to act in this manner, and what I have said, Sir,’ said he, turning himself and speaking to me) ‘is not to find fault with you for what you have all along said, but to blame ourselves for our constant manner of answering you.’ (Then turning to the Prince of Conti) ‘Yes, Sir,’ said he to him, ‘I own that we have no other way left but to be undone, with that company, which we must expect, if we do not stop their proceedings. I therefore submit to the advice that the Coadjutor opened some days ago at my house, and I am persuaded that, if your Highness delays to execute it, we shall in two days time have a peace more unsafe and more shameful than the first.’

The court, which was each moment informed of all the steps the parliament took, was now pretty sure of that company’s coming quickly into their measures, which was the reason that they grew much cooler there in respect of private negotiations. This made the Generals hearken the sooner to what Mr. de Bouillon had said. They agreed, upon the whole, to what he proposed, and were only to debate upon the manner of performing it, and of acquainting the parliament with it. They put off that debate till the next day at three in the afternoon, and resolved to meet at Mr. de Bouillon’s, where they thought that they should be more quiet than at the Town-house. I promised to discuss the matter that night with the President de Bellievre, who had all along been of a like opinion to mine upon the point now resolved upon. We were just parting, when Mr. d’Elbeuf had notice sent him that Don Gabriel de Toledo was at his house, and staid there for him. We made no doubt but that he had brought the ratification of the treaty which the Generals had signed, and Mr. de Bouillon and I went along with Mr. d’Elbeuf in his coach, to wait on him. He had brought (as we had guessed) that treaty ratified by the Archduke, but the chief cause of his coming was to try whether he could renew the treaty that I had proposed about a general peace. That gentleman being of a pretty fiery temper could not refrain telling Mr. de Bouillon, with some anger, that they were not well pleased with him at Brussels. But he was easily appeased when Mr. de Bouillon had acquainted him with what they were about to do, and how opportunely he was come to see my first proposals complied with, which was to be the very next day. He came that night to sup with Madam de Bouillon, whom he had formerly known, when she was maid-of honour

to the Infanta. He told her in private, that the Archduke would be much beholden to her if she could oblige me to accept 10,000 pistoles which he was ordered to present to me from his Catholic Majesty. Madam de Bouillon did her best to persuade me, but without success. I got myself off in a very respectful manner, but such however as gave the Spaniards to understand how hard it was to tempt me as to that point. I have paid dear since for using myself to those refusals; for though I was in the right in this occasion, it accustomed me to do the like in some conjunctures when it was nonsensical for me, not to accept what I was offered, had I afterwards thrown it into the river. *It is not always a sure game to refuse to accept gratifications from persons that are above us.* Supper being over, as we were talking together in Madam de Bouillon's closet, Briquemaut came in with consternation in his looks. He took her aside, and whispered something in her ear. At that she fell a weeping, and turning to Don Gabriel de Toledo and me: 'Alas!' cried she, 'we are undone; Mr. de Turenne's army has abandoned him.' The express that brought the news was then let in, who told us succinctly the thing. The money that the court had sent had gained most of the regiments, and, except two or three, the rest had failed him. It was even well for Mr. de Turenne that he could prevent being arrested. He made his escape, in company with five or six others, and retired to the Landgraves of Hesse, * who was both his relation and friend.

Mr. de Bouillon was struck down with this news, and I was not much less troubled at it than he. I will not be positive that I was not mistaken, but it seemed to me as if Don Gabriel de Toledo was not much afflicted at it, either because he thought that we should thereby be the more dependant upon Spain, or because his gay temper suffered him not to take our party-affairs too much at heart. The Duke de Bouillon was not long before he thought upon expedients to repair that evil. We sent for the President de Bellievre, who had received that moment a letter from Mr. de Villeroi with an account of this news. That letter likewise acquainted him that the first President, and the President de Mesmes had declared, that if affairs did not come to an accommodation they would return no more to Paris. Mr. de Bouillon, who by losing Mr. de Turenne's army had lost what made him most considerable, saw very well that the hopes with which

* *Amelia-Elizabeth, wife to William, Landgrave of Hesse. That lady was Mr. de Turenne's cousin-german.*

which he had flattered himself of being the umpire of the party, had no longer any foundation, and that made him return to his first disposition, which was to carry things to extremes. He took occasion from Mr. de Villeroy's letter to tell us, that we might judge by what the first President and the President de Mesmes had declared, that what we had projected to do, would meet with no great difficulty in its execution.

I must own here to you, that I wanted much of the presence of mind that was necessary on this occasion; for instead of holding my tongue in the presence of the Spanish envoy, and of staying till he was gone, before I opened my mind freely to Mr. de Bouillon and to the President de Bellievre, I immediately made answer to what Mr. de Bouillon had said, that things were now much altered, and that what might have been very easy to bring to pass in the parliament before the desertion of Mr. de Turenne's army was known, was now become impossible, and even ruinous. I enlarged upon that subject, and fell thereby into inconveniences from which it was very difficult for me to disentangle myself.

Don Gabriel de Toledo, who had orders to open himself to me, took care on the contrary to keep himself intirely hid, as soon as he saw the alteration which Mr. de Turenne's news had wrought upon me, and he formed cabals with some of the Generals, which, as you shall hear, caused me not a little trouble.

Mr. de Bouillon, who was conscious to himself that his delays had brought matters to this pass, said slyly to Don Gabriel de Toledo, at the opening of a discourse directed to him, as intending to explain what had passed before; that it was at least some sort of good luck, that the bad news about Mr. de Turenne's army was come before they had opened to the parliament what they intended. His reason for it was, because if it had been done before, the parliament finding themselves engaged upon a wrong foundation, had turned of a sudden against us; whereas, said he, we may find some other matter to serve for a foundation to what we are to propose; and in my opinion, added he, it is what we are now to debate upon. I was immediately struck with the fallacy of that way of reasoning, which took for granted the thing that was in question. I never knew a man that understood that piece of sophistry better than Mr. de Bouillon did. I had often heard him say that Count Maurice, Prince of Orange, used to reproach Barnevelt (whom he caused afterwards to be beheaded) that he would overthrow the States of Holland by

putting perpetually the change upon them, and for taking (as in this case) the thing in question to be certainly granted. That made me in a jesting manner remember it to him on this occasion. I argued with him, that nothing could now prevent the parliament from making a peace; that all the efforts that should be made, to stop that peace, would but hasten it; and that was, I said, the ground we ought to debate upon. Mr. de Bellievre observing that our contests began to grow warm, proposed that either side should write down his reasons. This is what I dictated unto him, and which I had kept among my papers writ with his own hand, till five or six days before I was arrested. I remember that he was in some pain about it, and asking me for it, I gave it him back. It was great luck for him that I did so; for it is likely that that paper might have been of prejudice to him when he was made first President.

‘ I have often said, that all companies are but like a mob which can be relied upon only for the present instant. This you have experienced, it may be, an hundred times for these two last months, and you might have experienced it a thousand, had you assisted at the assemblies of the parliament. Another thing which I have observed of that company is, that propositions there are but a kind of flowers that are liked to-day because they are fresh, and disliked to-morrow because they begin already to fade. These reasons have hitherto obliged me to press you in the manner I have done, not to miss the opportunity of Mr. de Turenne’s declaring for us, to fix the parliament intirely in our interest. Nothing could have produced that effect but the proposal about a general peace, which would have given us a pretence to keep ourselves armed during the negotiation.

‘ Though Don Gabriel be not a Frenchman, he knows enough of our customs not to be ignorant that a proposal like this, which tends to no less than to oblige our King to make a peace without his consent, requires great preparations before-hand with the parliament, supposing at least that our intent is to bring that proposal to any effect. When such a thing is proposed only to amuse those to whom you speak, or to serve for a pretence for private persons to act with greater liberty, which was our case when we presented lately Don Joseph d’Illescas to the parliament, it may be ventured upon with less caution, because the worst that can happen is that the proposal be rejected. But when the intent is to bring it to be accepted and effected, and

‘ when

when you have it in view, even to make use of it, till such time as it be effected, to fix a company which you cannot otherwise depend upon, I dare maintain that the failing in your attempt, for want of timing it, is more prejudicial to you, than the bringing it about would be advantageous, if it was well timed. The name of an army made up of Weymarians, was of itself able to have dazzled the parliament the very first day. It was what I told you, but you had your reasons for delaying, which I yielded to. Mr. de Turenne's name, and that army, might still, in all appearance, have engaged the parliament three or four days ago. I said it again to you, and you again had your reasons to delay: I supposed them to be good, and I still yielded to you. You came yesterday back to my opinion, which indeed I continued to stick to, though I saw that the proposal in question had already lost much of its lustre; but had not Mr. de Turenne's army failed him, I believe that we might have brought it to pass, not perhaps so easily as we had at first, but yet in a manner that had produced in a great measure the necessary effect. Things are much altered; for what have we now to ground our proposals upon, for a general peace, to the parliament? Our troops here? You have heard what was said of them this very day in the grand chamber. Mr. de Longueville's army? You know what it consists in. We cry it up as if it was of 7000 foot and 3000 horse; but above half that number is wanting to it; besides, you know that we have so often spoke, and always in vain of its joining ours, that we dare no longer mention it. What will therefore be the consequence of our proposal now to the parliament about a general peace, except only to make them believe and say, that we have no other design in this, than to break the treaty which they are upon, for their own accommodation with the court, which is the very best way to bring those that were against it, to be now for it. This is the spirit which all companies are moved by, and that of the parliament more than of any other. If we execute what we had resolved upon, we shall not have forty votes for ordering the deputies to come immediately back to Paris, in case the court refuses to give ear to our proposal, and yet without that, all the

* See what Mr. de St. Evremont says on that subject, in the account he gives of Mr. de Longueville's retreat into Normandy.

‘ the rest will signify little, and will consist in words that will
 ‘ not bind the parliament: the court will likewise come off
 ‘ that same way; and in the mean time, we shall give cause
 ‘ to those of Paris and of St. Germain to think that we act
 ‘ in a very great concert with Spain.’

The President de Bellievre having read this aloud to the Duke and Dutcheſs of Bouillon, and to Mr. de Brissac, who came in at that time back from the camp; we immediately took notice, that Don Gabriel de Toledo, who was present all the while, knew no more of our affairs than we could have done of those of great Tartary. He had wit, sprightliness, abundance of good-grace, and ability too, for ought I know; but a grosser ignorance, in respect at least to the matters in question, I hardly ever have known. It is a mighty fault to employ such negotiators. We took notice, that Mr. de Bouillon contested my reasons no further than was necessary to let Don Gabriel see that he did not agree with my opinion: ‘ From which,’ (said he, whispering me in the ear) ‘ it is true, I differ, for the reasons which I shall to-morrow acquaint you with.’

It was two in the morning before we parted; and the refreshment I met with at home, was a letter of Laigues, of only two or three lines of common writing, but of seventeen whole sides writ in cypher. I spent the rest of the night in decyphering it, and every word I met with gave me a new trouble. The letter was of Laigues’s own hand, but in Noirmoutier’s name, as well as his own. The substance of it was, that we had been extremely to blame in wishing that the Spaniards should not advance within the kingdom: that the people every where were so incensed against Mazarin, and so well affected to the party, and to the defence of Paris, that they came from all parts to meet the Spanish army; that we ought therefore to be in no manner of fear about its march, as if the public would resent it from us; that the Archduke was a saint, who would chuse to die ten thousand deaths, rather than take hold of any advantage that was not agreed upon; that Fuensaldagne was in the main a sincere man, from whom nothing ill was to be feared: the letter concluded with an information that the body of the Spanish army was to be at Vandecourt upon such a day; the van at Pont-à-verre, upon such another, where the army intended to stay for some days, after which, the Archduke designed to advance to Dammartin, and there post himself; that Fuensaldagne had given them so strong reasons for that march, that they found none to oppose it, and that they gave therefore their consent, and even their approbation

approbation to it: that Fuenfaldagne had desired them to give me private notice of it, and to assure me that he would do nothing but in concert with me. The time of going to bed was past before I had decyphered this letter; besides, what rest could I expect to have found in bed, in the cruel agitations it put me into, which were still increased by all the circumstances that might exasperate them. I knew that the defection of Mr. de Turenne's army would put the parliament farther off than ever from engaging in a war. I knew that the deputies at Ruel would still become bolder than they were at first, by the good success they had met with in their prevarication: I knew that the people at Paris would be as ready to admit the Archduke within the city, as they would the Duke of Orleans. I knew that the Archduke, by means of his beads, which were never out of his hands, and Fuenfaldagne by means of his money, would in a week's time be more masters there than all of us put together: I found that Fuenfaldagne, whose ability was of the greatest, had already worked upon Normoutier and Laigues, to as great a degree as if he had bewitched them: I saw Mr. de Bouillon relapsing to his first views of carrying things to extremes: I saw that the court, where they believed themselves sure of the parliament, were pushing our Generals headlong into the same way, by the contempt which they began afresh to express for them: I saw that that disposition of affairs was carrying things to a popular commotion, which would destroy the parliament; which would bring the Spaniards into the Louvre; and which was likely to undo the state: but above all, I saw that my credit with the people, both by Mr. de Beaufort's means, and by my own, with the names of Normoutier and Laigues, who had their character from me, would not fail to intitle me to the sad and fatal honour of having brought these great things about, the first consequence of which would be Fuenfaldagne's care to crush me, and bring me to nothing.

These thoughts troubled me all the morning long, till at last, I resolved to communicate them to my father, who for above twenty years had retired among the fathers of the oratory, and who never would hear of any of my intrigues. As I went along a thought came into my head, which was to contribute underhand all that I could to the peace, that the state, which appeared to me upon the brink of ruin, might thereby be saved; but seemingly to oppose it, that I might thereby preserve my credit with the people, and remain at the

the head of an unarmed party, which it would be in my power to keep so, or to arm, if I found it requisite. The like thought, but much undigested, came at first into my father's head; and knowing him to be a man of great moderation, I judged that it was not so remote from a just medium, as I at first feared. Neither did we find it so hazardous by much as it appeared, when we had once examined it thoroughly, and that brought to my remembrance an observation that I have sometimes made: *That what appears hazardous and is not such, seldom fails to be a wise choice.* What confirmed me more in this opinion, was that my father, to whom very advantageous offers in my behalf had two days before been made, by the channel of Mr. de Laincourt who was at St. Germain, owned that I could find nothing that would secure me that way. We fetched off the rust (if I may say so) of the expedient that had come into both our heads, and we gave it what colouring and what strength we could; so that I resolved upon following it myself, and likewise upon going about that very afternoon to persuade, if possible, Messieurs de Bouillon, de Beaufort, and de la Mothe, to do the like.

Mr. de Bouillon put me off, and put off our meeting with the others, till the next day. I own that I never suspected his design in it, and that I did not discover it till that evening, when I found Mr. de Beaufort fully convinced that all we had now left to do, was the shutting up the city gates to the deputies; the turning out the parliament; the making ourselves matters of the Town-house, and the causing the Spanish army to advance to our suburbs.

The President de Bellievre had just before informed me that Madam de Montbazon had spoke to him in the same language; and that began to open my eyes, and to make me see the folly which I had committed the night before at Mr. de Bouillon's, when I spoke in so plain a manner, in the presence of Don Gabriel de Toledo. That gentleman has since told me, that he staid the next evening four or five hours with Madam de Montbazon, and had promised her 20,000 crowns down, with a yearly pension of 6000, in case she should bring Mr. de Beaufort to what the Archduke desired of him. The envoy was not unmindful of the other Generals. He bought Mr. d'Elbeuf cheap enough; he gave the Marechal de la Mothe some remote hopes of finding out some way of an accommodation for the dutchy of Cardonne: in short, I observed the day these gentlemen and

I met

I met together, that the Spanish Catholicon * had not been spared among the drugs that were vended at this meeting. They all appeared persuaded that the defection of Mr. de Turenne's troops left the party no other choice, than to render ourselves masters, by means of the people, both of the Parliament and of the Town-house. I should tire you out, should I repeat all I said against that advice. Mr. de Bouillon, who by losing his brother's army had lost his greatest likelihood of obtaining from the court advantageous terms, had nothing now that kept him from engaging thoroughly with Spain. He would not understand what I said, but I got the better of Messieurs de Beaufort and de la Mothe, by convincing them that they would find no post in the party fit for them, because in a fortnight's time the whole party would be governed by Spanish councils. The Marechal de la Mothe came easily over to my side, but knowing that Don Francisco Pizarro was gone the day before to Mr. de Longueville, to whom Mr. de la Mothe was intirely attached, I could not get that gentleman to speak altogether positively. Mr. de Beaufort did not hesitate, though I could perceive by a great many signs that he had been well catechised by Madam de Montbazon, that Duke making use of some expressions which I knew to be altogether hers. Mr. de Bouillon said to me with some heat: 'But if we had done what you proposed but some days ago, had not the defection of my brother's army brought us into the very same condition we now are in? And yet you reckoned, even in case of that defection, to continue the war with our troops, with those of Mr. de Longueville, and those that are levying for us all the kingdom over.' 'Pray, Sir,' answered I, 'be pleased to add, with the parliament of Paris, having declared and entered into engagements about a general peace. For if the parliament, which will now refuse to engage, having lost Mr. de Turenne, had entered once into an engagement, we might in that case have reckoned on that company with as great reason, as we have little to reckon upon it now. When companies have been brought to a certain point, they go on of themselves, neither is there any fear of their falling back when they are once fixed. The proposal about a general peace had done it, in my opinion,

* During the league in France, that name was given to the intrigues of the court of Spain, which stirred up in France the animosity of the factions, under pretence of religion and of public good.

‘opinion, at the time of Mr. de Turenne’s declaring for
 ‘us. We have lost that opportunity, and I am convinced
 ‘that it is now too late to mention that proposal. I believe,
 ‘Sir, that you are as fully persuaded of it, as I. We only
 ‘differ in opinion, in that you think that we may be able to
 ‘pursue the work by means of the people, and my opinion
 ‘is that we ought not to use that means. This is the old
 ‘question that has already been so often debated.’

Mr. de Bouillon, who was unwilling to bring this matter again into debate, having sincerely owned, in two or three occasions, that I was in the right as to that; turned short upon me, and said: ‘Don’t let us dispute. Granting that
 ‘we ought not to make use of the people in this conjuncture,
 ‘what are we to do? Give us your advice.’ ‘My advice,’ said I, ‘is odd and extraordinary. It is this: we cannot
 ‘prevent the peace but by setting the people about ruining the
 ‘parliament. We cannot maintain the war, supported by
 ‘the people, without becoming dependants of Spain. We
 ‘cannot obtain a peace from the court without consenting to
 ‘see Mazarin in the ministry.’——Mr. de Bouillon, who with the physiognomy of an ox, had the perspicacity of an eagle, without giving me time to go on: ‘I understand you,’ said he, ‘you will suffer the peace to be concluded, and at the
 ‘same time you do not intend to be included in it.’ ‘I will
 ‘do more,’ answered I, ‘for I will oppose the peace; in no
 ‘other manner, it is true, than by giving my vote against it,
 ‘and by procuring the votes of those that will do the like
 ‘with me.’ ‘I understand you still,’ replied Mr. de Bouillon, ‘that thought is great and refined. It well becomes
 ‘you, and may even become Mr. de Beaufort; but it can
 ‘only suit with you two.’ ‘If it was so,’ answered I, ‘I
 ‘would sooner cut out my tongue than propose it. You
 ‘might act that part with us with profit to you. But if you
 ‘think fit to act another, it will be even convenient and advantageous to you that we should go on our own way. I
 ‘am persuaded that those that will persist in asking as a previous condition to the peace, the exclusion of Mazarin,
 ‘will remain masters of the people long enough to make use
 ‘of some favourable occasion, which fortune never fails to
 ‘offer in such unsettled times as these. And pray, Sir, who
 ‘can act that part more worthily than yourself, considering
 ‘your ability and the reputation you have acquired? We
 ‘are already the people’s favourites, Mr. de Beaufort and
 ‘I. You may, by acting that part, become likewise to-morrow the favourite of the people. We shall be looked
 ‘upon,

' upon, as the only prop of the public hope. All the er-
 ' rors into which Mazarin shall fall will turn to our account,
 ' and his regard for us will even preserve the public from
 ' some errors which he might otherwise commit, all which
 ' will make us to be highly regarded by the Spaniards. The
 ' Cardinal, considering his inclination for entering into trea-
 ' ties, will not only shew some regard for us, but will not
 ' fail to take some steps towards us. All these advantages
 ' do not persuade me, however, that the way I propose is ab-
 ' solutely good. I see all the inconveniences that attend it,
 ' and am not ignorant, that amongst the many accidents to
 ' which we must expose ourselves by following that road,
 ' we may meet with some that will prove most dangerous.
 ' But in my opinion, we ought to run that hazard, since we
 ' are sure to meet with accidents still more dangerous in the
 ' common road. It is needless to repeat those which we are
 ' like to meet with in continuing the war, and it is easy to
 ' foresee at once the danger of a peace, under an offended
 ' minister, who will not think himself perfectly secure in the
 ' post he is restored to, but by effecting our ruin. These
 ' considerations convince me that the way which I have pro-
 ' posed suits all of you, at least as well as it does me. But
 ' supposing it otherwise, I am sure, however, that it is your
 ' interest that I should myself go on in it, because it will fa-
 ' cilitate your accommodation, by giving you a larger time
 ' to treat before the peace is completed, and by obliging
 ' Mazarin, after it is concluded, to have greater regard
 ' for those, whose re-uniting with me he may stand in
 ' fear of.'

Mr. de Bouillon, who still had it in his head that he might
 find his account in carrying things to extremes, smiled at
 my last words: 'Remember,' said he, 'your bantering me
 ' but very lately about Barneveldt's rhetorical figure: give
 ' me leave to turn now the jest upon you. For by your
 ' way of reasoning, you take it for granted that we must
 ' suffer the peace to be concluded, and that is the thing in
 ' question, because it is still possible for us to continue the
 ' war, by mastering the parliament by means of the people.'
 'Sir,' answered I, 'I grounded what I have said only
 ' upon your saying that that dispute must be laid aside, and
 ' upon your desiring me only to explain to you what other
 ' views I might have; but I find that you are now for re-
 ' newing that dispute.' 'I am so,' said he, 'because it
 ' never came to a determination. Are you willing to leave
 ' it to the majority of votes?' 'With all my heart,' replied I,
 ' nothing

‘ nothing is more reasonable : we are all upon the same
 ‘ bottom ; we must either perish or be saved together. Mr.
 ‘ de Beaufort here is of my mind, and had we both of us
 ‘ the people more at our disposal still than we have, I think
 ‘ that we both should deserve to be disgraced, if we made use
 ‘ of our credit, I do not say to abandon the party, but to
 ‘ force any man of it, even the meanest, to enter into mea-
 ‘ sures which he should think disadvantageous to his interest.
 ‘ I will submit myself to the majority, and will sign their de-
 ‘ termination with my blood ; provided, Sir,’ said I, ad-
 ‘ dressing still my speech to Mr. de Bouillon, ‘ that you are
 ‘ excepted out of the number of those to whom I shall en-
 ‘ gage myself in that manner ; being, as you know, enough
 ‘ engaged to you already, by the ties of respect and of
 ‘ friendship.’ Mr. de Beaufort agreed to what I said, and
 made the company merry by some of his apophthegms,
 which he never had more at hand than when they were least
 wanting.

Mr. de Bouillon, who knew that the majority would not
 be of his side, and who had made that proposal only because
 he thought that I durst not stand to it, acted a wise part by
 saying softly to me, ‘ You know that neither you nor I
 ‘ should find our account in discussing this matter before per-
 ‘ sons that might make an ill use of it. You are too wise,
 ‘ and I am not mad enough to expose it to their view un-
 ‘ digested as it is. Let us prepare it, and lick it up to a
 ‘ form, before they so much as imagine that we are about it.
 ‘ Your interest is not to become master of Paris by means of
 ‘ the people ; mine is not to suffer the peace to be concluded,
 ‘ without coming to an accommodation with the court.’
 Then speaking louder, ‘ Pray,’ said he to me, ‘ ask the Ma-
 ‘ reschal de la Mothe if Mademoiselle de Toucy would con-
 ‘ sent that he should suffer the peace to be made, without
 ‘ his being included in it ?’ Mr. de la Mothe was known to
 be in love with that lady, and it was then thought that he
 would have married her sooner than he did. Mr. de Bouil-
 lon’s intent by saying this, was to let me know that his re-
 gard for Madam de Bouillon hindered him from entering into
 the measures which I had proposed, and he thought that that
 hint would be enough to insinuate it to me without discover-
 ing it to the others. He took his time, when we were left
 some moments alone together, to explain himself to me in
 this manner ; telling me besides, that the expedient which I
 had proposed came into his head, as soon as he heard of the
 defection of his brother’s army, with this further improve-
 ment,

ment, that he had it in his power to make the Spaniards like it. He told me, that he had many times been upon the point of communicating it to me, but that his lady had always opposed it with such firmness, and so many tears, that he was forced at last to give her his word that he would no longer think of it, but would either come to an accommodation with the court, or engage in the service of Spain. 'I know,' said he, 'that you would not advise me to do the last; help me, therefore, I beseech you, to perform the first: you see the trust I repose in you.'

I had time only to squeeze Mr. de Bouillon by the hand, by reason of the others coming back to us. The President de Bellievre came in with them, and Mr. de Bouillon related to him in few words, what had been said, and what I had proposed, adding, that he could not come into that proposal, because by doing so he run the risque of ruining his family for ever, whose ruin consequently would be charged to his account. He did all he could to persuade the President that it would be a wrong step in him to follow the measures which I had proposed, (I observed it, and shall acquaint you why he spoke in that manner to him) then turning to Mr. de Beaufort and to me: 'But,' says he, 'let us keep a good understanding together, as you have yourselves desired. Give your consent to the peace, at least when you come to vote in the parliament, only upon condition of excluding Mazarin. I will act the same part and will hold the same language. Our firmness perhaps in this occasion will give the parliament a greater vigour than we expect. But if that fails, suffer me to try to save my family by some accommodation, which in this present juncture cannot be a very good one, but which may become so in time.'

I was never touched with a greater sense of pleasure, than at this instant. I told Mr. de Bouillon, that my impatience of shewing how much I was his humble servant, was such, that it forced me to be wanting to the respect I owed Mr. de Beaufort by speaking before my turn, which I did in order to assure him that as to my particular, I set him free from all the engagements he had ever entered into with me. I besides gave him my word that I would do all that he thought fit for facilitating his accommodation; I told him that he might make use of my person and name, to make to the court what offers he should think most convenient; and as in the main I was resolved not to come to any accommodation with Mazarin, I left him the master of all the appearances of my

my conduct to make what use he pleased of them to his advantage.

Mr. de Beaufort, to whom it was usual always to out-do him that spoke last, made a sacrifice to him, with what emphasis he could, of all the concerns of the house of Vendôme, past, present, and to come. The Marechal de la Mothe complimented him, and the President de Bellievre spoke high in his praise. We agreed immediately upon what all of us were to do, which Mr. de Bouillon undertook to bring the Spaniards to a liking of, provided that we engaged not to let them perceive that we had before-hand concerted the thing together. We took upon us (the Marechal de la Mothe and myself) as well in our own, as in Mr. de Beaufort's behalf, to acquaint Mr. de Longueville with what Mr. de Bouillon intended to do in his own particular, not doubting but that he would approve of it, and do the like, because persons that are wavering are always glad of any overtures that have two ways, and that consequently do not press them to a choice. For that same reason we thought that Mr. de la Rochefoucault would be no obstacle to us, either with the Prince of Conti, or with Madam de Longueville; so it was resolved, that that same evening Mr. de Bouillon should propose the matter to the Prince, in presence of all the Generals. That conference was remarkable in this particular, that Mr. de Bouillon took care not to let fall a word which might give occasion to complain that he had had it in his thoughts to deceive them in the least, when at the same time he omitted not a word that might serve to cover his true design.

Before I come to speak more of it, I must give you an account of what he said to me, after those whom I have mentioned were gone, and that we were left to ourselves: 'Do not you pity me,' said he, 'for the necessity which I am in to refuse the taking the only way that is safe for the present, and reputable for the time to come. I own, that you have chosen that way, and if it was possible for me to follow it, I think, without vanity, that I might even better it. You have observed the caution which I have used with the President de Bellievre, in hiding from him the true cause of my not going the same way with you. You will approve of what I have done, when I have told you that that citizen worried me the other day for an hour long, upon account of the regard I have for my wife's sentiments. I need not use that caution with you, because I know that you will not blame me for not exposing a wife whom I love tenderly, and eight children whom she loves better than her
life,

life, in so hazardous a way as that which you have chosen, and which I would likewise chuse were I without a family.

I was moved with Mr. de Bouillon's sentiments, and with the trust he reposed in me. My answer to him was, that far from blaming him, I respected him the more for it, and that his tender love to his lady, which he was pleased to call a weakness, is one of those things which is blamed by politicians, but approved of by moralists, because it shews a goodness of heart, which, by its being superior to politics, must likewise be superior to interest.

We came one moment after to the Prince of Conti, whom we found at supper. Mr. de Bouillon desired leave to speak to him in the presence of Madam de Longueville, of the Generals, and of the most considerable persons of the party. Sometime being required to assemble them all, the conference was put off till eleven at night, and in the mean while Mr. de Bouillon went to the Spanish envoys, whom he acquainted with our resolution, but without discovering how we had concerted it together. He persuaded them that that resolution might prove very advantageous to them, because our standing firm against Mazarin would perhaps occasion the breaking of the peace; but in case it proved otherwise, the part which I was resolved to act could not but be for the time to come of the greatest use to their affairs. He sweetened this with all that might persuade them that it was best for Spain that Mr. d'Elbeuf should make his peace with the court, because they were thereby rid of a man who was chargeable to them without doing them any service. As for his own accommodation, supposing that it came to be effected, of which he doubted much; it might likewise be useful to them, because the little trust there was to be put in Mazarin's words, gave him room beforehand to preserve all his old measures with Spain. And for the Prince of Conti, who was but a weather-cock, no reliance could be made upon his treating with them, nor but little upon Mr. de Longueville's, who loved always to treat with both sides. Messieurs de Beaufort, de la Mothe, de Brissac and de Vitri, would never separate from me, which made the thought of mastering the parliament to be now impracticable by my not improving it. These considerations, added to the order that the two envoys had to agree in every thing to Mr. de Bouillon's advice, made them consent to whatever he proposed. He brought with the same ease the Generals to be of his mind, at the conference that was held at the Prince of Conti's. They were all charmed with a proposal that gave them leave to brave it every morning in the parliament, and left

left them at liberty to treat every evening with the court. The greatest piece of skill that I observed in Mr. de Bouillon's discourse, was his mixing with it some circumstances, which by the turn he was able to give them in case of need, would take away, when it should be thought necessary, all manner of belief, in relation to the ill use that might be made of them either with the court or with the Spaniards. Every one went away pleased from this conference, which lasted not above an hour and a half, and with which the Prince of Conti assured us that Mr. de Longueville would be extremely pleased. I went back with Mr. de Bouillon to his house, where we found the Spanish envoys staying for him. I could easily perceive by their manners and their discourse, that Mr. de Bouillon had set off with advantage to them, both for himself and for me, the resolution which I had taken, not to come to any accommodation, upon which they used me with the utmost civility, and made me all manner of offers. We easily agreed upon every thing that was to be done, because they liked whatever Mr. de Bouillon proposed; he built them a golden bridge for their withdrawing their troops with honour, and without seeming to do it out of mere necessity. He brought them to approve of whatever proposal any future occurrence might occasion him to make. He made twenty several observations sometimes opposite to one another, to make use of afterwards as he should think fit. I told him after they were gone, that I never saw any body like him for persuading people that a quartan-ague was wholesome for them: 'Ay, but,' said he, 'the worst is, that I must at this time persuade myself likewise of it.'

At my coming back, I found at my house Varicarville, whom the Duke de Longueville had sent to Paris. And here I think myself obliged to beg your excuse, that in my account of the civil war I have hitherto touched but slightly upon one of the chiefest scenes that was, or at least ought to have been acted in Normandy. Indeed from the beginning of these memoirs, I have related only what I have seen myself. But since I meet in my way Varicarville, the gentleman of the whole kingdom whose word, in my opinion, is the most to be relied on; I think that I ought to give you a brief account of what passed in Normandy from the time that Mr. de Longueville left Paris to go thither, which was upon the 20th of January, 1648-9.

You have already seen how the parliament and the city of Rouen declared for that Duke. Messieurs de Matignon and Beuvron, with the whole body of the gentry, did the like. He

was

was master of the citadels and towns both of Dieppe and Caën. The town of Lizieux, with its bishop,* declared likewise for him, and all the people of Normandy who were passionately in his interest, contributed gladly to the common cause. The King's money was seized upon in all places. Levies of men were made to the number, as was reported, of 7000 foot, and 3000 horse; though in reality they amounted but to 4000 foot, and 1500 horse. The Count d'Harcourt, whom the King sent thither with a little flying camp, kept these towns, these forces, and the whole people in awe, and obliged the forces, for almost the whole time to keep themselves close within the walls of Rouen; the only exploit they did in the field being the taking of Harfleur, a place not tenable, and of two or three small castles that surrendered without fighting. Varicarville, who was my friend, and spoke in confidence to me, ascribed that poor and silly conduct neither to Mr. de Longueville's want of courage, he being a stout soldier, nor to his want of experience, though he was no general. The only thing he ascribed it to was his natural uncertainty, which made him continually seek for expedients. Anetonville, who commanded his company of gens-d'armes, was the man whom he employed in all his negotiations, and I had had notice from St. Germain by Madam de Lefdiguières, that he had been secretly sent thither in the month of February; but knowing Mr. de Longueville for one who could not forbear negotiating some way or other, even at the time that he was the least intent upon any accommodation, I was not alarmed at that notice. What confirmed me in this opinion was, an answer which I received from Varicarville, to whom I wrote about it. He said that I ought to know the ground which was never firm; but that I should be informed in time if it grew softer.

When once I perceived how much Paris inclined to a peace, and that we were like to be carried away by that stream, I thought myself obliged to give notice of it to Mr. de Longueville. Varicarville was of opinion that I had acted wrong in that, because he used to say even to Mr. de Longueville himself, that his friends ought to treat him as a sick body, and do things for his service without consulting him. But I thought I had no right to use that freedom at a juncture when the parliament's preposterous way of acting might at every instant occasion an unsound peace. I fancied besides, that I had it in my

* The bishop of Lizieux, mentioned before, was dead, and this new bishop was of the house of Matignon.

my power to remedy the evil which I knew such a notice was able to work upon a mind so wavering as that of Mr. de Longueville was. I sent Varicarville word to observe him narrowly, that he might at least be prevented from signing some private treaty to his prejudice. But I was mistaken in that, because Mr. de Longueville was as easily ruled by Anetonville at the end of an affair, as he was by Varicarville at the entering into it. Anetonville was continually persuading him to be of the same mind with the court; and Varicarville, who loved the Duke's person, and would have him preserve his dignity in his manner of living with the ministers, was driving him that way, when any occasion offered that might flatter a heart that was sound, and a mind that had nothing unsound in it but its want of steadiness.

'Twas six weeks after the opening of the civil war, when I gave him the notice which I have mentioned. I found by Varicarville's letter, that Anetonville was upon the point of coming into waiting. He went sometimes after to St. Germain, as I have mentioned, where, as I have learned since from Varicarville, he found neither his master's nor his own account. This obliged Mr. de Longueville to return into the great road, and to take hold of the conference at Ruel for the entering into a treaty. The Duke, not approving my thoughts on all the particulars, of which I had ever given him a faithful account, sent me Varicarville to bring me over to his opinion, but under pretence of acquainting me with what Don Francisco Pizarro had been trying to do with him by the Archduke's order. This convinced Mr. de Bouillon and me, that we could not have sent more agreeable news to Mr. de Longueville than we did, by a gentleman whom we dispatched for that purpose, who was to acquaint him that we no longer kept him under restraint as to the matter of treating; and Varicarville, who was one of the most steady men in the whole kingdom, seemed in this occasion impatient for the obtaining passes for Anetonville, named by the Duke to assist at the conference at Ruel, so much was he persuaded that his master would commit as many weaknesses as he should remain moments in a party which he had not resolution enough to stick close to, to the very last. I return to what passed both at the parliament and at the conference.

I have told you that the deputies went back to Ruel the 16th of March. They went the next day to St. Germain, where the second conference was to be held at the Chancery. The first thing they did there was to read all the several demands which particular persons had made with all the eagerness

tiels
gene
had
men
The
pret
dear
with
seen
not
requ
Pre
kno
cern
self
fide
that
whi
all
Ma
both
suff
firs
sent
did
whi
as a
difi
they
info
in f
of
me
of
V
Car
wh
edic
tha
nity
Ver
pre

ness possible in relation to their private interest, though our generals, who had not been in that wanting to themselves, had all along stipulated that those demands should not be mentioned till the parliament's concerns should be adjusted. The first President went quite a contrary way to work, under pretence of shewing the Generals that their concerns were dearer to the parliament than their own were; but in truth with a design to discredit them with the public. I had foreseen this, and had therefore insisted that the Generals should not give their demands, till the articles which the parliament required to be reformed should be agreed on. But the first President bewitched them to that point, that it was no sooner known that the Generals were to be heard as to their concerns, than every officer of the army desired the like for himself, and thought that he had a right to address the first President about his demands. Mr. de Bouillon owned to me, that he had not sufficiently weighed that inconveniency, which gave the whole party a great air of ridicule. I made all imaginable efforts to prevent Mr. de Beaufort and the Mareschal de la Mothe from falling into the trap. They both had given me their word against it, but the Mareschal suffered himself to be won by the frivolous hopes which the first President and Viole baited him with. Mr. de Vendôme sent the duke de Beaufort, his son, his curse in due form if he did not at least obtain the superintendency * of the seas which had been promised him at the beginning of the regency, as a recompence for the government of Brittany. The most disinterested thought that they should be the others dupes if they did not follow their example. Mr. de Retz, † who was informed that Mr. de la Trimouille, ‡ his neighbour, came in for the earldom of Roussillon, and had even some thoughts of coming in for the kingdom of Naples, has not forgiven me to this day that I did not undertake to get the generalship of the gallies to be restored to him. In short, I found Mr.

VOL. I.

N

de

* This employment was created in 1627, in favour of Cardinal Richlieu, in lieu of the dignity of great Admiral, which was suppressed as well as that of Constable, by an edict of that same year. Lewis XIV. suppressed, in 1669, that superintendency of the seas, and set up again the dignity of great Admiral, which was given to Lewis, count de Vermandois, his natural son by Mademoiselle de la Valliere.

† The Cardinal's brother.

‡ Henry de la Trimouille, Duke of Thouars, had some pretensions, but out of date, upon the kingdom of Naples.

de Brissac to be the only man that came not in *at that time* with his pretensions; but Matha, a man of little brains, having persuaded him that he wronged himself, put him upon retrieving that false step, by his demanding afterwards a post which you shall in due time hear of. All these doings made me resolve to distinguish myself from the rest. I took hold of the declaration which the Prince of Conti sent to the parliament on the 19th of March, about his chusing the count de Maure for his deputy at the conference, to declare publicly to the company, that I desired not to be included directly or indirectly in any thing relating to private concerns. This step which I was forced to take to prevent Mr. de Beaufort's slip being imputed to me, added to the ill effect which that shower of ridiculous pretensions had produced, hastened the General's proposal about the exclusion of Mazarin, which they did not intend to have made, but just at the time that it might have served, by reason of the Cardinal's fearful nature, for a spur to the negotiations which he had by several ways with every one of them.

At Mr. de Bouillon's request we all met that same day in the evening, which was the 19th of March, at the Prince of Conti's apartment. There it was resolved by Mr. de Bouillon's means, that that Prince should the next day declare to the parliament, that neither himself nor the other Generals had given in an account of their pretensions, but from the necessity they were driven to of finding some means to secure themselves, in case that cardinal Mazarin continued minister: but that he protested both in his name, and in the name of all the persons of quality that were joined to the party, that they would renounce all private pretensions whatsoever, the moment that the Cardinal's exclusion was agreed on.

That declaration was made in very fine words upon the 20th. Had it been made before the bringing forth of that swarm of pretensions, made as well by the Generals as the Subalterns, as Mr. de Bouillon and I had concerted it, I am persuaded that it had given the party a greater credit, and put the court in a greater fear than I imagined. For there had been room to believe both at Paris and St. Germain, that the Generals coming to a resolution of taking notice of their private interest, and of sending deputies to treat about it, was but the sequel of the design which they had formed of sacrificing those interests to the Cardinal's exclusion from the ministry. That error is, in my opinion, the greatest that Mr. de Bouillon has ever fallen into. He excused himself upon Mr. d'Elbeuf's precipitancy to put his demands into the first

first President's hands. But he must however be looked upon as the first cause of that error, by his being the first that gave way to private demands. *In great affairs, he that gives room to others to commit faults, proves often the most guilty,* which makes me look on this fault of Mr. de Bouillon's as a great one.

I must now take notice of the most foolish thing that ever I did in my life. I have mentioned how Mr. de Bouillon had promised the Spanish Envoys a golden bridge for the withdrawing their troops in case of a peace. But notwithstanding their confidence in Mr. de Bouillon, hearing nothing but of deputations and of conferences, they thought fit however to challenge from time to time the promise I had made them to prevent their being surprized. I had besides that engagement, a particular reason to stick to my word, from the friendship I had for Noirmoutier and Laigues, who would have taken it ill of me, if I had rejected their reasons for bringing me to consent to the approach of the Spanish army. But looking upon this engagement in the present posture of affairs as no longer honourable for me to continue in, I did all I could with Mr. de Bouillon to persuade him not to defer any longer the building that golden bridge, about which he had opened himself to me. But he put it off from day to day, because treating with the court as he did, by the Prince of Condé's mediation, about an equivalent for Sedan, it was for his advantage that the Spanish army should not retire so soon. However after some delay, his own probity joined to my reasons, got the better of his interest. I dispatched an express to Noirmoutier, and we spoke in a positive manner to the two Spanish envoys. We made them sensible that the parliament's peace with the court might be finished in a quarter of an hour's time; that the Prince of Condé might in four days time be within reach of their army; and that the army which had been Mr. de Turenne's, was advancing under the command of Erlac, who was entirely dependant on the Cardinal. Mr. de Bouillon finished in this conversation the building of the golden bridge he had promised them. He advised them to fill up one of the blanks signed by the Archduke, in the form of a letter from that Prince to the Prince of Conti, wherein he should say, that to convince the world that he had entered France with no other intent than to procure a general peace to Christendom, and not with any design of making an advantage of the divisions of that kingdom, he offered to withdraw his troops the moment that the French king would please to name a place

place of meeting for the peace, and deputies to treat about it. That proposal, which in the present conjuncture could have no solid effect, was good enough for Mr. de Bouillon's use, and there was no room to doubt but that the court (who would easily perceive that in reality that offer would only signify what they themselves pleased) would consent to it, at least outwardly, and by that means would give the Spaniards a plausible pretence of withdrawing their troops without any discredit to them.

The Bernardine Monk was not so well pleased with this golden bridge, but that he could afterwards tell me in private, that he had rather have chosen a wooden one to pass over either the Marne or the Seine. Both Envoys however agreed to every thing which Mr. de Bouillon desired, having an order so to do, and they willingly wrote the letter in the words I dictated. The Prince of Conti, who was indisposed, desired me to go from him to the parliament, to acquaint them with this pretended letter, which the two Envoys carried thither with a great deal of ceremony. I was simple enough to accept that commission, opening thereby my enemies a way to make me pass for a man acting altogether in concert with the Spaniards, at the time that I refused all their offers in relation to my private advantage, and that I was breaking all their measures, in order to preserve the true interest of the kingdom from being hurt. There never was a piece of folly more compleat than this. Mr. de Bouillon was sorry for it for my sake, though he found in some measure his account in it. However in concert with him, I retrieved that error in some sort, by adding to the report which I made to the parliament on the 22d, that in case the Archduke did not exactly keep his promise, the Prince of Conti and the Generals had ordered me to assure the company in their name, that they would, without any condition or delay, join all their forces to the King's army.

The reason why Mr. de Bouillon found in some measure his account in the foolish step I had taken, was because the Cardinal, who thought me altogether against the peace, seeing me take that step much at the same time that the Count de Maure was ordered to declare for his exclusion at the conference, made no doubt but that the whole was a contrivance of mine. This put him into a greater fear than need was. His answer to the deputies of the parliament, and their manner of reporting it at the conference, shewed plainly that the Cardinal was alarmed. And as he commonly was cured of his fears no other way than by negotiating, which he was
much

much in love with, he opened a larger door to the treaty begun by the Prince of Condé in favour of Mr. de Bouillon, because he thought that that Duke had acted in concert with me in the steps that I had taken. But when he found that nothing followed those steps, he inferred from it that we had failed in our attempt of setting the parliament in a flame, and that he might therefore safely push us on.

The Prince of Condé, who was well affected towards Mr. de Bouillon and Mr. de Turenne's accommodation, wrote word to the first, that he had found of a sudden the Cardinal entirely changed in relation to him. It was not hard for Mr. de Bouillon nor me to find out the reason why, which made us resolve to give Mazarin a new lash, that is, to attack him again personally, which was the thing he feared above all, though good sense might have taught him to despise those attacks, which, when all is done, did him but little harm. They were however of some advantage to Mr. de Bouillon as well as to me, though in a different manner. Mr. de Bouillon expected from it that it would set all negotiations forward; and it was my interest to signalize myself against Mazarin's person, when a treaty was so near concluded, which was like to procure peace to every body excepting me. Upon that foundation we both worked with so much success, that we brought the Prince of Conti, much against his will, to propose to the parliament that they should order their deputies to join with the Count de Maure about Mazarin's expulsion. The Prince of Conti made that proposal upon the 27th, and as we had had two or three days time to prepare the minds of the people, it passed by eighty-two votes against forty, that the deputies should be ordered that same day to insist upon it. When it came to my turn to opine, I added, (and to persist in it,) but I had but twenty-five votes for me, which I was not surprized at. I have mentioned the reasons which I had to distinguish myself upon that subject.

I had been near losing my credit with the people and passing for a Mazarinian, because upon the 13th of March I had prevented the first President's being murdered, and because upon the 23d and 24th I had opposed the selling Cardinal Mazarin's library. I set myself to rights again, both with them and with the hot men of the parliament, by my speaking strongly against the Count de Grancey, for his carrying his insolence so far as to pillage a house belonging to Mr. Coulon, by my insisting on the 24th upon giving leave to the Prince d'Harcourt to take away the King's money from the several receivers hands in the province of Picardy; by my exclaim-

ing on the 25th against a truce, which it had been ridiculous to refuse in the time of a conference; and by my opposing on the 30th that which was agreed upon, though I knew that the peace was concluded. I return to the conference at St. Germain.

You have seen how maliciously the deputies had opened it, by mentioning first every body's private pretensions. The court kept artfully those pretensions alive, by negotiating secretly with the most considerable persons, till finding there, that they were sure of a peace, they eluded by an artful answer most of those pretensions, which they distinguished under two heads, that is, under that of justice and that of grace, reserving to themselves the power of explaining that distinction as they thought fittest. The first President, and the president de Mesmes, acted all this while in concert with the court against the deputies of the Generals, though they outwardly seemed to do the contrary; and by that means the court came off at a cheap rate, and disbursed but very little ready money. The coin they paid people in was only promises, which Mazarin counted for nothing. He valued himself much for having blown away (those were his terms) with a little chymical powder that multitude of pretensions: but the sequel will shew you, that he had done wisely had he mixed a little gold with that powder.

The court came off more easily still, from the proposal made in the Archduke's name about a general peace. Their answer was, that they accepted it with joy, and they sent that same day Mr. de Brienne, secretary of state, to the Pope's Nuncio, and to the Venetian Ambassador, to confer with them as mediators about the manner of treating it.

As for what concerned Cardinal Mazarin's exclusion, which the Count de Maure had asked from the beginning, which the Duke de Brissac * pressed for jointly with Messieurs de Barriere and de Creci, the two other deputies from the Generals; and on which the deputies of the parliament insisted a-fresh, at least outwardly, as they were ordered to do by that company; the Queen, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé, declared that they would never consent to it.

Some contests arose about the concerns of the parliament of Rouën, who had still their deputies at the conference, together with Danetonville, the Duke de Longueville's deputy; but at last all matters were adjusted.

There was little or no difficulty in relation to the articles which the parliament of Paris asked to be reformed. The

Queen

* Joli mentions but two deputies in all.

Queen remitted the holding a bed of justice at St. Germain's. She consented that no mention should be made in the declaration for the peace, of the parliament's being forbid to assemble for the remaining part of the year 1649, provided that the deputies would pass their word for it; the Queen on her side giving hers, that such and such declarations that had been before granted should inviolably be observed. The Queen promised not to press the restoring the Bastille, and even passed her word to leave it in the hands of Louvieres, old Bröussel's son, who was made governor of it, after the taking of it by Mr. d'Elbeuf.

The amnesty was granted in the very words that were desired, and in it were expressly included, the Prince of Conti, messieurs de Longueville, de Beaufort, d'Elbeuf, d'Harcourt, de Rieux, de Lillebonne, de Bouillon, de Turenne, de Brissac, de Duras, de Matignon, de Beuvron, de Noirmoutier, de Sevigni, de la Trimouille, de Rochefoucaut, de Retz, d'Estissac, de Montresor, de Matha, de St. Germain d'Aphon, de Sauvebeuf, de St. Ibal, de Lauretat, de Laigues, de Chavagnac, de Chaumont, de Caumesnil, de Cugnac, de Crecy, d'Allicy, and de Barriere.

Some difficulties arose in relation to Noirmoutier and to Laigues, whom the court affected to distinguish from the rest by granting them an abolition, † as being more criminal than the others, because they were still actually and publicly in the Spanish army. Nay, the Chancellor shewed the deputies of the parliament an order of Noirmoutier's, whereby, as lieutenant-general of the King's forces, under the Prince of Conti, he commanded the inhabitants of Picardy to bring provisions to the Archduke's camp; and a letter of Laigues's, wherein he solicited Bridieu, governor of Guise, to surrender that place to the Spaniards, who promised in consideration thereof to release the Duke of Guise, who was taken prisoner at Naples. The Duke de Brissac, one of the deputies against the generals, maintained these to be nothing but forged papers, and the first President joining with him, it was ordered that both Noirmoutier and Laigues should be included with the rest in the amnesty. The president de Mesmes, who would have been glad at heart if he could have defamed me, affected to say that he wondered why I was not expressly mentioned in the amnesty, adding, That a man of my dignity ought to be distinguished from the vulgar. Mr. de Brissac, who understood the world better than negotiating, wanted presence

† *A particular pardon.*

presence of mind in this occasion, and said, That it was requisite to know my mind about it. He sent a gentleman to that purpose, to whom I gave my answer in these words: 'Having done nothing in what has passed but what I thought tending to his Majesty's service, and to the true interest of the kingdom, I have so many reasons to wish that when the King comes to be of age, his Majesty may be rightly informed of it, that I beseech the deputies not to suffer my name to appear in the amnesty.' I signed that note, which I desired Mr. de Brissac to deliver to the deputies of the parliament and of the generals, in the presence of the Duke of Orleans and of the Prince of Condé. He forbore doing it, at the desire of Mr. de Liancour, who thought that this circumstance would serve but to incense the Queen the more against me: he only spoke the substance of what I wrote, and I was not included by name in the amnesty. You cannot imagine to what degree that trifle helped to support me with the public.

On the 30th, the deputies of the parliament came back to Paris. They made on the 31st their report to the parliament, upon which Mr. de Bouillon had pretty sharp words with the first President and the president de Mesmes. His private negotiations had failed him, and what the deputies had done in his behalf was not satisfactory, because they had only confirmed the former treaty about an equivalent for Sedan, the guaranty of which he thought not secure enough. Some thoughts came into his head the evening of that same day to imbroider matters anew, by means of a commotion which he fancied the people might easily be stirred up to in the disposition they were in. But those thoughts vanished away, when he reflected on a thousand circumstances which convinced him, that even according to his own scheme that commotion could not but be unseasonable, of which circumstances one of the least was that the Spanish army was already withdrawn.

I could not but pity the Dutchess of Bouillon that evening: she shed tears in abundance. It is certain that there have been times wherein Mr. de Bouillon has, of himself, and moved merely by a spirit of negotiating, missed decisive strokes. That defect, to which he has appeared to me to be a little too subject, has often raised doubts in me whether he was capable of performing what otherwise his great qualities promised.

The first of April, which was Maundy-Thursdai of the year 1649, the declaration about the peace was verified by the parliament. I had had notice the night before that the people were gathered together with a design to oppose it, and even to

to force the guards that secured the parliament; and being busy at Nôtre-Dame upon Tuesday about the ceremony of the Holy-Oils, I staid longer about it than usual, that I might be the readier to assist the parliament if it was attacked. As I was leaving the church, somebody came and told me that the commotion was begun at the Silversmith's Key, and as I was going thither, I met one of Mr. de Bouillon's pages with a note for me, wherein he desired that I would hasten to the parliament, because he feared that the people not seeing me there, would take occasion from it to mutiny, as being a sign that I did not approve of the peace. I found the streets full of people that were crying aloud: *No Mazarin: No Peace*: I dispersed those whom I found assembled at the Marché-neuf, and upon the Silversmith's Key, by telling them, that those of Mazarin's party strove to divide the people from the parliament; that they ought to be careful not to fall into their trap; that the parliament had their reasons for acting as they did, but that nothing was to be feared from them in relation to Mazarin; that they might believe me as to that, since I gave them my word to come to no accommodation with him. This protestation removed all their fears: but when I came to the parliament, I found the guards there as much inflamed as the others were. Mr. de Vitri told me, that they had offered to massacre all those whom he should name to be Mazarinians. I appeased them by the same means I had done the others; and I came to the Grand Chamber, and took my seat there, before the deliberation was at an end. The first President seeing me come in, said, *that I had been mixing saltetre with my holy oils*: I heard him, but took no notice of it, for if I had, and if what he had said had been known in the great hall, it had perhaps not been in my power to save a single man of the parliament. Mr. de Bouillon, whom I told it to, complained of it that very afternoon to the first President, and made him ashamed of it.

That peace, which Cardinal Mazarin bragged he had bought very cheap, was not so beneficial to him as he hoped. He left for my use a leaven of dissatisfaction in the minds of people which he might easily have removed, and which proved of great service to me. The Prince of Conti went to St. Germain with Madam de Longueville, to make their court there, after having made their first visit to the Prince of Condé at Chaliot, which passed in the coldest manner on both sides. Mr. de Bouillon, to whom the first President had given on the day that the declaration was registered, fresh assurances of an equivalent for Sedan, was presented to the King by the Prince

Prince of Condé, who affected to protect him in his pretensions, and the Cardinal gave him all possible marks of civility. Finding that these examples were like to be more and more followed, I thought fit to declare myself sooner than I had resolved, in relation to the little safety that there was for me to go to court, where my capital enemy continued master. This I told the prince of Condé, who came to Paris eight or ten days after the peace, and whom I saw at Madam de Longueville's. Mr. de Beaufort and the Marechal de la Mothe spoke in the same strain. Mr. d'Elbeuf seemed as if he would have done so too, but the court got him over to their side for some consideration or other. Messieurs de Brissac, de Retz, de Vitri, de Fiesque, de Fontrailles, de Montresor, de Noirmoutier, de Matha, de la Boulaie, de Caumefnil, de Moreul, de Laigues, and d'Annery, remained united to us, and we made up together a kind of a body, which being supported by the people was more than a shadow. The Cardinal however treated it as such at first, and in so haughty a manner, that Mr. de Beaufort, Mr. de Brissac, Mr. de la Mothe and I, having each of us desired a friend to assure the Queen of our most humble respects, her answer was, That she would receive those assurances when we had paid our respects to the cardinal.

Madam de Chevreuse returned to Paris just at that time. Laigues, who was come eight or ten days before her, had prepared us to it. He had followed his directions very well, by plying her very close, though she had at first no inclination for him. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse has since told me that her mother used to say at first, that Laigues was like Bellerose, who was a comedian of a very insipid mien, that she altered her opinion before she parted from Brussels; and that she was every way pleased with him during her stay at Cambray. That gentleman was no less pleased with her. He cried her up to us for a heroine, to whom we had owed the Duke of Lorraine's declaring for us, if the war had continued, and to whom we were indebted for the Spanish army's march. Montresor, who had been fifteen months prisoner in the Bastille upon her account, was crying her up in no less a manner. I was glad of this, having it in view to supplant Madam de Montbazon, by taking Mr. de Beaufort from her, and by delivering him into Mademoiselle de Chevreuse's hands (there having been formerly some talk of a marriage between them) and having likewise in view to open myself a new way with the Spaniards, in case of need. Madam de Chevreuse came above half way to meet me. Noirmoutier and Laigues, who
judged

judged me useful to that lady, and who were afraid that Madam de Guimené, who hated her mortally, though they were sisters-in-law, would be a hindrance to the friendship which they designed to knit betwixt her and me, laid a trap for me, into which I fell. That lady was no sooner arrived at Paris, but those gentlemen contrived that her daughter and I should stand for godfather and godmother to a child that seemed to be born at that nick of time to serve their purpose. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse had dressed herself to the best advantage: she was handsome, and I was incensed at Madam de Guimené, for her running away from us into Anjou, out of fright, the second day that Paris was besieged. The day that followed the christening, an occasion of serving her happened which she thought deserved her thanks, and which gave me some hopes of becoming friends with her. Madam de Chevreuse was just arrived from Brussels, and was come from thence without any leave. The Queen took that ill, and sent an order for her to depart from Paris in twenty-four hours. Laigues came to me immediately to give me notice of it, and I went with him to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, where we found the young lady at her toilet, all in tears. I felt my heart moved at it, and I desired Madam de Chevreuse to stay till I returned, before she obeyed the order. I left her and went to find out Mr. de Beaufort, whom I persuaded that it was neither for our honour or interest to suffer the letters-de cachet, which had proved one of the most odious means for oppressing public liberty, to be brought into use again. I wanted his assistance, thinking that we two were little enough to meddle with an affair of this nature, which, though supported by the laws, and of great concern to the public safety, was yet very ticklish, both in respect of the peace so newly made, and of that lady who was known to have been the most imbroiled of any in intrigues, and in factions. That made me therefore think it better that that attempt, which we could not, nor ought not to avoid, though it was attended with some inconveniences, should be made rather by Mr. de Beaufort than me. But he refused obstinately the doing it, and I was forced to undertake it myself, because it was necessary that it should be done at least by one of us two, to have it work upon the first President's mind. I went to him after I had left Mr. de Beaufort, and as I was about representing to him the necessity there was not to incense the people's minds by the infringement of declarations so solemnly made, he stopped me short by saying: 'It is enough, my good Lord: you are unwilling that she should leave Paris; she shall stay here;' at that he whispered me in the ear:

car: 'Her eyes are most engaging.' He spoke to me in this manner, because though he had obeyed the Queen, he had immediately sent her word, That that attempt would be vain, and that it was exposing the King's authority in too slight a manner.

I came back to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, where I was not ill received. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse appeared lovely to me. I destroyed * the good opinion which she might have of the Duke de Brunswick-Zell, to whom she was in some sort betrothed. I contracted a great friendship with Madam de Rhodes, a natural daughter of the late Cardinal de Guise, who was upon good terms with the young lady. Laigues opposed me at the beginning, but the mother's easy temper, and the daughter's resolution, quickly removed that obstacle. I saw the young lady every day at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and very often at madam de Rhodes's, who left us entirely to ourselves. We made use of the opportunity. I loved her, or rather I fancied I did, for I did not discontinue all the while my commerce with madam de Pomereux.

Among those that remained united to me, were messieurs de Brissac, de Vitri, de Matha, and de Fontrailles, but the benefit I received by it was mixed with great inconveniences. These gentlemen were prodigiously debauched, and the public licentiousness giving them still a free scope, they every day fell into excesses that grew at last scandalous. One day that they had dined together at Coulon's, they met, as they came back, a funeral procession, which they went to charge sword in hand, crying aloud to the crucifix: *Here's the enemy!* Another time they fell in a rude manner, in the open street, upon a footman of the king's. In their drunken songs God Almighty himself was not always spared. This behaviour of theirs was an occasion of trouble to me. The first President knew very well how to make use of it: the clergy was offended at it: the people did not relish it at all: it was not in my power either to hide or excuse it; and so the blame fell necessarily upon the FRONDE. I will here acquaint you with the origin of the word *Fronde*, which I forgot to do in the first book of these Memoirs.

When the parliament began to assemble about public affairs, the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé, as I have mentioned, came pretty often thither, and seldom failed to calm people's minds. But that calm lasted not long, and in two days time they grew as hot as before. One day † Bachamoun

* The period here was transposed to make the sense clear.

† A counsellor of the grand chamber, son to the president le Coigneux.

mount happened to compare jestingly the parliament to the school-boys, who used to sling stones with a sling in the ditches round Paris, who run away the moment they spy some town-officers coming towards them, and who return to their sport as soon as those officers disappear. The jest was liked, and the comparison was made use of in lampoons; and so the party was called the sling (in French the *FRONDE*) and the party-men the slingers (in French *FRONDEURS*.) These words were revived, and were chiefly made use of and applied (after the peace was made between the king and the parliament) to the private faction of those who came to no accommodation with the court. We took care to keep them in vogue; for we had observed that party names are of some help for inflaming people, and we resolved all of us to wear hatbands made in some sort like a sling, or *FRONDE*. A trusty hatter got a great many to be made, and sold them to an infinite number of persons, who knew nothing of a mystery in it. We came at last to wear them, as others did, for if we had affected to wear them first, that had spoiled the jest. You cannot imagine the effect that trifle had. Every thing was made, *a-la-mode de la FRONDE*; bread, hats, gloves, handkerchiefs, fans, trimmings: and our party became even more in fashion by means of this trifle, than by any thing else of greater moment. We wanted indeed all manner of help to keep our ground, having against us the whole royal family. For though I had seen the prince of Condé at madam de Longueville's, I had no reason to think myself fully reconciled to him. He had treated me civilly, but coldly, and besides, I knew he believed that I had complained of him for his not fulfilling the promises which I had made in his name, and by his order, to some particular persons of the parliament. I had not done it, which made me conclude, that some body had taken pains to incense him against me. The likeliest man, in my thoughts, for doing me this evil turn, was the prince of Conti, whom I knew to be naturally very malicious, and who hated me for no manner of cause that either he or myself knew. I was likewise but upon ill terms with madam de Longueville, and it was not long before I discovered the reason why. I mistrusted madam de Monthazon, who, though she had not near so great an influence over Mr. de Beaufort as I had, had yet more than enough to become mistress of all his secrets. She could not love me, because she knew that I deprived her mostly of the regard which she might expect from the court by her governing the duke de Beaufort. I might however have pieced

with her, for never woman was of an easier composition; but how could that piecing have agreed with my other engagements, that were more pleasing and safer to me? You may by this see, that I was not free from trouble. The count de Fuenfaldagne undertook to set me at ease. He was not pleased with Mr. de Bouillon, who certainly had missed the decisive point, that is, the general peace. He was much less so with his envoys, whom he called moles; but he was extremely pleased with me, because I had always insisted for a peace between the two crowns, and because I had no manner of concern in the peace with the parliament. He sent Don Antonio Pimentel to me, to offer me every thing that was in his master's power, and to tell me, that knowing upon what foot I was with the minister, he made no doubt but that I wanted support; that he desired me therefore to accept one hundred thousand crowns, which Don Antonio Pimentel had brought me in three bills of exchange, payable in Bale, Strasbourg, and Francfort. That he asked for it no manner of engagement from me; and that his Catholic majesty would be very well satisfied if he reaped by it no other advantage than that of protecting me. I heard all this with a great deal of respect, and I shewed a grateful sense of these offers, which I did not altogether reject for the time to come, but which I refused for the present, telling Don Antonio, that I should think myself altogether unworthy his Catholic majesty's protection, if I accepted gratifications from him when I was not in a condition to do him service. That I was born a Frenchman, and more particularly attached to Paris by the post I held, than any other could be; that my misfortune had set me at variance with the King's first minister, but that my resentment would never prompt me to seek for a support among enemies, till I was forced to it by the natural necessity of a self-defence; that Divine Providence, to whom the uprightness of my intention was known, had in all likelihood given me strength sufficient to support myself in Paris by my own means; that if I became in need of a protection, I knew that I could never meet with so illustrious or so powerful a one as that of his Catholic majesty, which I should think it always glorious for me to have recourse to. Fuenfaldagne was very well pleased with this answer, which appeared to him (as he told St. Ibal since) to come from a man who confided in his own strength, who was not greedy of money, and who in time might be persuaded to take some. He sent me back immediately Don Antonio Pimentel, with a long letter full of civilities, and a billet

billet writ by the archduke, wherein he said, that upon the least notice from me, he would march * *with all the forces of the King his Lord.*

The day after Don Antonio Pimentel's departure, a small accident happened that troubled me more than a greater. Laigues came to acquaint me, that the prince of Conti was in a terrible anger at me; that he complained that I had been wanting to the respect I owed him; that he would be revenged on me for it, were he to perish in the attempt, he and the whole house of Condé. Sarrazin, † whom I had placed with that prince to be his secretary, came to me a moment after, and confirmed the thing. I leave you to judge what surprize a complaint of this nature must cause to a man who is conscious to himself that he had done nothing amiss. But if it surprized me much, it moved me but little, because I was far from having for the prince's person the same respect I had for his quality. I desired Laigues to go to him from me with a tender of the duty I owed him, to ask him in a respectful manner the cause of his anger, and to assure him that it could have no foundation relating to me. Laigues came back very much satisfied that there had been no real anger, and that all was nothing but counterfeiting and affectation, with a view to come to some kind of explanation that might produce, or seem to produce, a reconciliation. The reason of his thinking so was, that he no sooner had made his compliment to the prince, but that he seemed to be pleased with it, though he was sent back for an answer to madam de Longueville, as to the person chiefly concerned. She expressed to Laigues a great deal of civility for me, and desired him to bring me to her that night. She received me admirably well, telling me, however, that she had many great causes of complaint against me, but that they were matters not fit to be told, and that without telling I knew what they were. This is all I could get from her towards an explanation, but as for matter of civilities I had enough and enough, and even advances enough for a re-union (she said) with me and my friends; at this she struck me gently on the face with one of her gloves, saying: *Do you know what I mean?* and then went away. I knew what she meant, which was right enough to have served her purpose. Mr. de la Rochefoucault had been for a long while negotiating with the court, but as there was no trusting cardinal Mazarin's word, he thought that it would not be amiss

* Con todas las fuerças de Roi el Sennor.

† John-Francis Sarrazin, of the French academy, whose writings in prose and verse are very much valued.

amiss to spur him on, or fix him, by bringing the prince of Conti into some new consideration with him. That prince was but upon a very indifferent foot with the prince of Condé his brother, both because the prince of Condé despised him, and because every thing made it appear that they were not sincerely reconciled. It was for that reason that the prince of Conti would have been well pleased to appear again at the head of the Fronde, from which he had divided himself immediately after the peace, by some jests which it was not in his power to forbear, and by his closing again with the court, though, against all manner of good sense, there was more of shew in it than of reality. It came into Mr. de la Rochefoucault's head that the most natural way to remove the coldness that had been taken notice of between the Fronde and the prince, was a reconciliation that must infallibly make a noise, and become consequently suspicious to the court, which was the thing which Mr. de la Rochefoucault aimed at. I have once or twice since asked him to tell me the truth of this intrigue. His answer was only in general, that at that time they were persuaded amongst their cabal, that I did ill offices upon his score to madam de Longueville with the duke her husband, which of all things in the world is what I have all my life-time been the least capable of. Neither do I believe that that was the cause of the resentment which the prince of Conti shewed against me; because Laigues had no sooner spoke to him in my name, as I have mentioned, but he received me with open arms; and that madam de Longueville had no sooner perceived that I answered her proposal about a re-union with me and my friends, only in general terms, but she fell again into a coldness for me which turned into hatred. I was conscious to myself, as I have already said, that I had done nothing that deserved such a shew of resentment as the prince of Conti had expressed against me, which I took therefore to be affected, and done with a view of a reconciliation that might serve some private ends; and that was the reason why I appeared so cold to madam de Longueville when she mentioned a reconciliation. She took this coldness for a refusal, and that, added to what passed before, was followed by consequences which ought to have taught us, *That there are no small steps in great affairs.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



